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ABSTRACT

The material presented in this publication is an outgrowth of an inservice program focusing on multi-ethnicity which was presented for teachers and administrators. The paramount emphasis was two-fold: (1) to provide teachers with an indepth exposure to the methodology utilized in the inquiry process via lectures and demonstration lessons, and (2) to provide teachers with a concentrated and systematic program approach to ethnic studies in the K-12 social studies curriculum. The authors of the 13 articles in this document were the consultants for the program. Articles deal specifically with American Indians, Jews, and black Americans in United States history, as well as general ethnic concepts. The document also contains strategy models and practical considerations for effective inquiry teaching. Other topics deal with cultural pluralism, the melting pot theory, the theories of Christopher Jencks, and a critical assessment of the Kerner Report. The use of community resources and school community relations in ethnic studies concludes the work. (Author/JR)

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Inquiry Techniques In Teaching A Multi-Ethnic Social Studies Curriculum

In-Service Program For Teachers

Samuel L. Banks, *Coordinator*

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BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1974

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FOREWORD

The material presented in this publication is an outgrowth of an in-service program focusing on multi-ethnicity which was presented for teachers and administrators. The paramount emphasis was two-fold:

to provide teachers with an in-depth exposure to the methodology utilized in the inquiry process via lectures and demonstration lessons.

to provide teachers with a concentrated and systematic program germane to the salient components (viz., black, Jewish, Indians, white ethnics, etc.) included in the new Social Studies curriculum, K-12.

It is believed that the material enclosed herein will be consequential and meaningful for teachers involved in the system-wide implementation of the new Social Studies curriculum in the Baltimore City Public Schools.

Sincerest gratitude is expressed to all of the consultants who made a valuable and distinctive contribution to the workshop. Sincere appreciation and thanks are extended to Mrs. A. Katherine Gross, Principal of the Mt. Royal Elementary Model School, for her splendid support and cooperation. Special thanks are tendered Dr. Roland N. Patterson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, for his unflinching support of this activity.

Two consultants who participated in the workshop, Dr. Jean Grambs of the University of Maryland and Ms. Barbara Mikulski of the Baltimore City Council, did not submit papers.

The workshop was funded by a Title IV grant under the Elementary-Secondary Education Act.

Samuel L. Banks
Director of Workshop on Inquiry Techniques in Teaching a Multi-ethnic Social Studies Curriculum

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Multi-Ethnic Social Studies in a Pluralistic Community

. . . In a nation whose history is that of its immigrants, multi-ethnic social studies supplies us with a mirror to view ourselves. . . . Multi-ethnic social studies allows us to celebrate cultural pluralism—the co-existence of diverse life styles in a system of free expression. . . .

Jean Scarpaci

When Walt Whitman wrote, "I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear," he celebrated the diversity of the American people. Whitman's wide horizons included the common man, or, if you will, the "non-elite." Yet, in the schools of the 19th Century, apart from the idealization of the American farmer, students learned little about the social, cultural, and economic aspects of their heritage.

Yet onward into the progressive period, when schools were seen as vehicles of socialization, especially for the foreign born, the child was introduced to the larger concepts of American morality and fair play, the key to good citizenship. All this was designed to enrich the students' appreciation of America where the many had become *e pluribus unum*. Even the farsighted Jane Addams of Chicago's Hull House used the richness of the ethnic experience as a reinforcement of things American. So the Greeks would claim credit for American democracy, and the Russians would point to the model of Leon Tolstoy with his interest in social reform as an interesting contrast to American reform movements.

The schools had failed to present a full picture of American society with its diversity and its multi-levels. Justification for this neglect fell into two categories. Groups defined as "racial," such as Asians, Chicanos, Afro-Americans, and American Indians, were regarded as distinct physical types who would never become part of the majority population. And their activity, especially of the black American, was screened out of the nation's textbooks.[1] Some of these groups created parallel social structures because they were denied access into the mainstream. Other groups, predominately European, fell into the assimilable category. They could aspire to become like the majority group if they agreed to sacrifice certain "exotic" characteristics. For the latter, a concerted effort to bridge the cultural gap emerged as a way to true membership in American society. The schools expedited these interpretations by idealizing a model type of American and implying that the forces of history flowed from the activities of great white men who lead the armies of good against the armies of evil.

Perhaps this picture is somewhat overdrawn but one needs only to ask generations of Americans who read Sambo stories or Dick and Jane in heartland America to learn that the individual student failed to find himself reflected in the pages of the past. Certainly, on George Washington's birthday, one might throw in von Steuben, Kosciuszko, and Lafayette. And then, there were the "George Washingtons" of every land. Garibaldi for Italy, Sun Yat-sen for China, Kerensky for Russia, Kossuth for Hungary. All were offered in contrast to the great American model.

Where did a school child see himself in the pageantry of history? The books did not discuss the many reasons which brought people to the United States, except, of course, for the Pilgrims. The texts did not detail the contribution of the faceless, nameless people who worked as convict laborers, indentured servants, slaves, and later as agricultural laborers, tenants, sharecroppers, farmers, mechanics, factory hands, miners, canal diggers, and railroad construction workers. Their products were admired, but they were depersonalized.

Of course, the opposite approach to ethnicity, "the celebration of individualism" also contained drawbacks. Attention to each unit as equally worthy corrupts the principle of selectivity and evaluation. The stress on the minutiae of history, described by one of my professors as "bedpans and rundling boards," loses the perspective of the age. Another danger lay in the compartmentalization of ethnic units, forcing each to compete for its share of glory. A form of "one-ups-manship" resulted. The temptation to succumb to descriptive generalizations also was typical. These overviews often perpetuated stereotypes which glossed over the significant contributions of each ethnic group.

Although I have criticized the older approaches to social studies, I do not intend to imply that we are beyond such simplistic errors in 1973. However, in

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our age of nonconformity, we recognize that ethnicity is not an American, and the increasing awareness of our differences has brought us face to face with the role of ethnic groups. We realize that

> As successive waves of immigrants rubbed up against one another, in an urbanizing America, they gradually discovered not the easy old lesson that men are brothers, but the hard new multicultural lesson that brothers are different.[2]

The purpose of my discussion today is to suggest some ways for us, the school community of administrators, teachers, and students, to study multiethnicity in a pluralistic setting. First, let us look at the definition or "what is," then the methods or "how to," and finally the justification or "why for."

A Definition of Multi-Ethnic

What constitutes multi-ethnic social studies? Multi means many, ethnic means subculture, social studies considers the world we live in. Therefore we acknowledge the principle that we live in a world populated by many peoples, and closer to home, that the United States represents the culmination of the greatest mass migration movement in recorded history. These peoples came to America for different reasons at different periods. They were affected by what they found here and influenced all who met them. Each group's and each individual's impact was both unique and collective.[3]

In 1970, about sixty percent of the American population identified themselves as having a single ethnic origin, based on responses to questions of ethnic origins contained in the census forms. More than 31 million persons reported English, Scottish or Welsh origin, over 25.5 million reported German origin, 22.5 million represented the black American population, over 16 million claimed Irish origin, 9 million persons claimed Spanish origin, 8.7 million reported Italian origin, over 5 million reported French origin, almost 5 million claimed Polish origin, and 2.1 million reported Russian origin.[4]

Census figures, like any statistics, are misleading. Individuals may identify with a particular subculture according to preference. A child of a German-Irish union may claim only one of the traditions. In the pluralistic communities of the United States, people will answer the question "what are you" with replies, Irish, German, Italian, Ukranian, Afro-American. This does not deny their allegiance to the United States, but only underscores their awareness of population diversity. This awareness pales in areas of the United States where groups are scattered among the general population. However, wherever ethnic enclaves developed such as in west Chicago, the lower east side in New York City, or in the prairie communities of South Dakota, identities remained strong. So a factor overlooked in census statistics is that of cultural identity as it relates to historical and geographic factors. This broader definition would include the whites of Appalachia and the Lumbees of Baltimore as distinct ethnic groups.[5] (Some suggest that women represent an ethnic group.)

So rather than belabor the point that America is a combination of its ethnic groups, let us acknowledge the natural human tendency to relate oneself to the past. Human beings are curious about themselves. They try to place themselves within an historical setting. It is when the individual can [illegible] himself reflected in this plan of human development that he gains an understanding of its mechanisms. If he always learns of others, he remains a spectator. When he sees his own development connected to the larger picture, he participates directly.

Perhaps we should rather consider the ethnic factor in American history instead of the flow of peoples who contributed to the population count. This concept might give us a better appreciation of the interaction of ethnic groups within American history. For we know the relationship between the slave trade and tobacco cultivation, the connection between the transcontinental railroad and Chinese immigration. However, this emphasis on the push and pull factors of immigration only brings the actors to the shores as impersonal groups responding to impersonal forces.

How To Study Multi Ethnicity

In Baltimore, ethnic studies should concentrate on the groups that make up its population. We cover a wide range from American Indians, Afro-Americans to Asian and European groups. In locales where ethnicity is limited, the only alternative is to provide substitute learning through books, films, and discussions. But in Baltimore we are fortunate to have a living stage of ethnicity. Baltimore was a major port of entry for those coming to America in the early 19th Century. The grain trade with the North German Hanseatic ports provided a direct connection to this city. In the Europe to America voyage, passengers served as cargo. Thousands of Germans poured into Baltimore. Some stayed. Others followed the national pike to the Ohio Valley and beyond. The Germans who remained left a deep imprint on the life of the city. Many merchants and tradesmen came from this group. Later in the 19th Century scores of Czechs, Russians, Poles, Italians, and Lithuanians entered the city. "Little Bohemia" held tailor's row. The East European Jews contributed to the growth of mens' clothing manufacture. The Poles, Italians, and blacks from rural Maryland served in many capacities, from public works to contracting, longshoremen, industrial laborers, and migrant farm workers. Each suc-

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cessive group played an important part in this city's development.

Baltimore, then, is a microcosm of America in terms of ethnic and industrial development. The child who sees the connection between his own environment and the society around him grows in his appreciation of it. This method of instruction falls into comparative analysis. Here the student judges events and developments by placing a case study against a larger, more general account.

Today, the cry for relevancy in school curriculum often degenerates into what is fashionable. Also, methods that place technique first and content second encourage the use of gimmicks. For example, T-group sessions or role playing have a direct value in helping students gain perspectives into the motivations of others. But without a firm foundation of knowledge acquired through the more traditional approaches, this exercise becomes superficial. There is no substitute for scholarship. The student cannot intuit the "why" unless he knows the facts.

Ethnicity has begun to share the popularity of the day. Many shamelessly exploit the concern of Americans who wish to provide a more balanced picture of the American population in the school curriculum. Should the schools adopt this emphasis because it is currently popular? I maintain that multi-ethnic social studies has a place in the curriculum because the school has an obligation to document the world we live in for the student. To learn that we are a nation of immigrants (we can include the American Indian if we extend the time period to their migration across the Bering Straits), and to explain our development in terms of the interplay of ethnic groups and their individual relation to specific developments or events describes the true meaning of American history. Professor Fairbank, the Asian history expert at Harvard University, recently suggested that the future of the world may rest on our ability "to get a truer and multivalued, multicultural perspective on the world crisis."[6]

Yet, we must avoid the filiopietism that substitutes trivia or boastfulness for historical significance. Senator Richard Russell of Georgia provided an extreme example of ethnocentrism when he commented on the possibility of nuclear war and said, "If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans; and I want them on this continent and not in Europe."[7]

Certainly, in a pluralistic community, one that reflects the persistence of ethnicity, the obligation of the schools is to document this characteristic. Here we meet head on a group of determined critics. If one sees the melting pot or assimilation as the necessary thrust of our society, then the presence of distinct subcultures works at cross purposes to this goal. The educational system reinforces these differences in a multi-ethnic setting. As a former governor of Maryland recently said in his acceptance speech at a national convention:

> At this time, when some people seem determined to fasten group labels on people, and in the process to turn American against American, it would be well to remember that this kind of behavior is not progressive but regressive. It is not reform but recidivism.
>
> Yet, in the name of reform, the practice of pitting the most publicized minorities against the least publicized minorities continues. In truth, each of us belongs to some minority group that has special interests.
>
> These differentiations should be important to us, but never so important that they overshadow our common identity. We are Americans, and that which unites us is infinitely stronger, than our individual differences.[8]

The implication here is that our differences can only lead to dissension. There is an insinuation here that the ethnic may eat his spaghetti or sweet potato pie as long as he conforms. The preservation of our subcultures is earmarked as un-American because it may create problems in intergroup relations.

I suggest that it *is* the role of the educational system to deal with the realities of society. We must describe the world in which we live so that our students can cope with its problems and develop its strength. We do not teach what *should be* or *should not be*. We deal with *what is*. It is the very process of education that allows the student to consider the implications of the status quo after he has learned the facts about his society.

Of course, I do not agree with the interpretation that multi-ethnic studies undermine the harmony of society. The differences between people create problems only in an atmosphere of fear and misunderstanding. In a free society of self-expression, these differences are the matrix of an advanced, progressive system. The fact that all ideas and life styles coexist and intermingle broadens the experience of the individual. He draws upon all and all contribute to the whole. The result is a larger number of alternatives open to the individual. These choices are not mutally exclusive, *i.e.* one can adopt a combination life style. We prepare students for the larger society when we show them that toleration of others is not a passive thing. Respect for each other grows from understanding and a willingness to learn about others and to allow them to function according to their needs.

The classroom is the place for this educational process to happen. Here we get into the methods or how to. Debate, controversy, exchange of ideas are the

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stuff of education. It is the teacher's obligation to encourage initiative in the students and equally important to insist that statements are supported with verifiable data. Anyone can engage in a general discussion about the seeming overinvolvement of some ethnic groups in economic exploitation, organized crime, and welfare fraud. This exercise often degenerates into the reinforcement of stereotypes and name calling. On the other hand, discussion based on scholarly research and adequate information provides a setting for learning. The role of the educator is to encourage open minds and not to allow students to accept material unquestioningly. What should happen in these classroom exchanges is not conversion or polemic, but a sharing of information. If the emphasis is upon a scholarly analysis rather than upon speculation and generalization, the student can apply this approach to his own thinking. In other words you may not convert an anti-Semite or anti-black in class, but if you insist on each student documenting his statements and also stress the sharing and the analysis of information, he may begin to judge *new* information in this manner. Ultimately, he might reassess his entire frame of reference. It is the obligation of the educational system to supply the student with these tools.[9]

Another how to for multi-ethnic studies is the use of family history and local history.[10] I have already said that Baltimore is a microcosm of the nation. Using the parallels here, the student gets a sense of living in an environment that counts. He can read of the steel strike of 1919 and get some idea of the industrial worker. But take him out to see the Sparrow's Point plant to *feel* the drama of thousands of workers filling a small part of a large impersonal system.

Family history is another way of having the student share in the drama of the past. We tend to talk of wars, inventions, elections, great individuals, and seem to forget that many people, the "non-elite," played an important role in these developments. A student whose father or grandfather fought in World War II, a student whose family is a recent victim of automation, a student whose family moved from the country to the city, a student whose father is shop steward, and a student whose father experienced the longshoremen's strike, can relate his own experience to the larger movements of modern America. He becomes a participator, not just a spectator.

Another method is that of oral history in the classroom.[11] The taped reminiscences of a community member who experienced an event or whose life reflects a change. The students can interview a stall owner at Lexington Market whose memories go back fifty years. They can learn how he operated then and what changes have occurred. A local politician telling the student how precinct workers were recruited, candidates selected, and services offered to their constituency can fill the student with a living idea of the past. The students can interview these people after a period of research and class discussion. Their questions will be relevant and direct. They will fill in the gaps in the recorded, printed record. I purposely used examples here that were non-ethnic. But I would quickly add that an interview with the pastor of a Polish Catholic Church and the family history of an Estonian post World War II immigrant would be obvious subjects for consideration.

The Justification

We now come to the justification or why of multi-ethnic studies. Traditional history has been the chronicle of the unique, the leaders, the heroes, the aggressive, and the articulate minority. Multi-ethnic social studies broadens this narrow focus to include the story of the common people. The millions who have carried out the master plans, who have suffered and rejoiced, who have struggled and triumphed constitute the basic setting from which the outstanding achievement of the individual or a group might be evaluated. In a nation whose history is that of its immigrants, multi-ethnic social studies supplies us with a mirror to view ourselves. We can gain some distance, some perspective upon the problems of group differences and intergroup relations, when we examine them with a scholarly, dispassionate attitude. Perhaps we need not mourn the demise of the melting pot concept. Multi-ethnic social studies allows us to celebrate cultural pluralism the coexistence of diverse life styles in a system of free expression.

The acceptance of cultural pluralism enables us to take pride in this diversity, to develop those values and behavior patterns that reflect our ethnic identities. This variety of expressions can only enrich the lives of our students and encourage them to develop their individual potential. In this aspect of human experience, cultural pluralism may offer America's greatest natural resources.

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1. See John F. Stovel, "Black Studies is White Studies," *The Social Studies*, LXII (October, 1971), pp. 204-8.

2. Harlan Cleveland, "America's Two Societies," in *The Troubled Campus*, Kerry Smith, ed. (1970), p. 39.

3. See Winnie Bengelsdorf, *Ethnic Studies in Higher Education*, (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1972).

4. Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce, *Summary General Population Statistics and Current Population Reports, 1970*.

5. For the persistance of ethnicity see Introduction to the First Edition and Introduction to the Second Edition of Daniel Moynihan and Nathan Glazer, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (MIT Press).

6. Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History" in Murray Friedman, ed, *Overcoming Middle Class Rage* (Westminster Press, 1971), p. 179.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

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8. Excerpts from "Acceptance by Agnew," *New York Times* (August 24, 1972), p. 47.

9. A good beginning can be made by using the bibliographical guides in *Ethnic Studies in Higher Education, op. cit.*, which includes all ethnic groups and also a recent article by Rudolph J. Vecoli, "European Americans: From Immigrants to Ethnics," *International Migration Review* (Winter, 1972), pp. 403-34.

10. See Anonymous Families History Project coordinated by Richard D. Brown History Department, University of Connecticut (Storrs) and Tamara K. Hareven History Department, Clark University (Worcester, Mass.).

11. See Lois Martin, "Oral History: How to Mesh the Process and the Substance in U.S. History," *The Social Studies*, LXIII (December, 1972), pp. 322-5.

EFFECTIVE INQUIRY TEACHING IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

Strategy Models For Reflective Thinking

John Ford

. . . A concept is an idea of something, a classification and its attached meanings. It is the frame of reference we use to order and make sense of the world. Concepts are usually expressed by a word or phrase. . . .

This paper briefly describes instructional strategies for developing thinking (cognitive and affective) processes. The strategies are based on a single method, a basic model of thinking and teaching the social studies or black experience. The basic model is characterized by presenting a problematic situation which leads the child to questioning, searching, and examining alternatives, including the learners' and teacher's ideas in relation to explaining the problem, a socially significant condition, or event.

Hence, the basic model is a process that begins with a difficulty or curiosity, leads to relevant information, and ends with a tentative conclusion (or solution) based on available evidence. Several ways in which the teacher can put this process into practice are described below.

Using Contradictions

This strategy consists of presenting the child with information that is consistent with either an idea he accepts as true or with an idea he has previously encountered. Recognizing an inconsistency in that which he has heretofore taken for granted, he attempts to explain it. The suggested model is diagrammed as follows:

Conclusion (or Solution)
Possible Explanations

Statement A Contradiction Statement B

Subject matter for this strategy could include textbook view and inner-city view of policemen, enforcement of law differentially applied to inner-city and those with power (large corporations' leaders), people starving in America which is said to be the richest country in the world, the belief in equal opportunity, and the normative practice of discrimination, etc.

Valuing

The teacher can develop the process of valuing (judging) by creating a problematic situation in which the child has to make a choice or take a position after reflection. Simply, the strategy enables the child:
to clarify the value question,
to assemble relevant data,
to analyze choice-consequence relations, and
to take a position.

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The strategy is used to evaluate a socially significant condition, event, trend, issue, practice, or policy. This strategy is concerned with consequences of the "thing" being evaluated (i.e., the value object). The value object could be the use of time, spending of money, urban renewal, welfare, use of drugs, gangs, etc. The goal of this strategy is not group consensus, but analysis and clarification of value positions and their consequences. It teaches the child which values people hold, how values guide behavior, and how to examine them.

Subject Matter Switch

This strategy enables the child to analyze the inconsistent beliefs and actions he or others may hold. The strategy is performed when we generalize or reduce to principle a particular belief, then demonstrate how another belief is incompatible with the principle and consequently, with the first belief.

For example, if the child accepts the principle that everyone should help to keep the environment clean, then does he practice this by helping to keep his home clean? Similarly, the President indicated that more money for education is not forthcoming because education programs have failed. The principle implied is that financing successful programs is desirable. We switch the content from education programs to defense programs and ask should we continue to finance a war for peace when past wars for peace have not resulted in peace? This strategy is akin to using analogies.

Using Different Interpretations

The concern of this strategy is to get at several versions of the same event rather than only two opposing propositions as in the first strategy (contradiction). The strategy is appropriate for examining interpretations that reflect viewpoints, biases, and cultures. Further, the interpretations are analyzed in relation to meanings, assumptions, and supporting evidence. Having been presented with different versions of a socially significant event, the child examines them for vagueness, fallacy in thought, emotional words, omissions, credentials of the writer, etc. The teacher can use class members' descriptions of some event they all witnessed or newspaper accounts (reflecting different views) of the same event, etc.

Analyzing Data

This strategy consists of confronting the child with limited data and challenging him with guiding questions that help him find relationships among the limited available facts. From the relationships, the child draws tentative conclusions or makes inferences. The limited data being analyzed could be a poem, a speech, statements about a social group, an artifact, or a picture.

An example is the use of the words and music to a song of the blues. The child's task is to generate inferences about the experience of a people based on the meanings in the song. What does it say? What else does it say? Why does it say these things? What feelings are conveyed by the choice of words and the tempo? What does all this tell you about the people? How can we find out more about the people?

Role Playing

The elements of this strategy consist of confronting the child with a common dilemma in human relations which has alternative solutions. Further, it includes his spontaneous enactment of the roles, followed by his discussion of the episode (as participant and observer) in relation to different consequences of alternatives. Role playing is effective for developing empathy and analysis of feelings.

Developing Concepts

Briefly, a concept is an idea of something, a classification and its attached meanings. It is the frame of reference we use to order and make sense of the world. Concepts are usually expressed by a word or phrase.

In dealing with concepts, the teacher should be concerned with both the narrow and broad meaning. The narrow component is taught by giving the popular accepted definition, exploring the child's definition(s), and examining exemplars of the concept. The process is *identifying* facts from the exemplars, *discriminating* and *grouping* the common attributes, and *applying* the attributes to new exemplars. The broad component focuses on the function of the concept, i.e., how it is used by different groups and how the meaning has changed. Hence, the popular definition of welfare, race, community, etc. is one thing, while the diverse meanings assigned to them by various groups are another thing. When the child examines samples of how groups use a concept term, he is learning the broad meaning.

Challenging Beliefs (or testing generalizations)

The broad meaning of a concept allows the child to test statements about concepts. Is it true that everyone has equal opportunity in America, that welfare recipients are lazy and are cheaters, that war leads to peace, etc.? Common beliefs can be found in newspaper articles, editorials, comic strips, advertisements, etc. These can be examined with additional informa-

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tion (evidence) to see how true they are.

The use of these strategies when applied to conditions of social concern can facilitate the broadening of the child's concept precepts. In doing so, it not only gives him a frame in which to interpret subsequent events, but it also gives him some measure of control over his own life.

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A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

Multi-Ethnic Instruction in the Elementary School

. . . What we do within the educational framework is of the greatest significance in building the kind of world we need. Therefore, the social studies program provides a glorious opportunity for helping the individual child to fulfill his potentialities and to become an enabler as we pursue the process of revitalizing the renewing society. . . .

A. Katherine Gross

I should like to discuss the reasons that necessitate a change in the content and thrust of our multi-ethnic social studies revision. I can think of no better way than to quote to you the ideas of one of our noted thinkers and scholars, Margaret Mead, the great anthropologist, says in a recent publication, "My experience as an anthropologist has led me to think that as we have come to understand more about the physical universe in which we live, we have also acquired knowledge about man himself—our newly emerging understanding about the nature of human nature. We have gained insight and a new perspective on our human culture—who we are and what we may become.

"Two major difficulties long stood in the way of this kind of enlightenment. One is the belief that the people of one's social group represent all that human nature is capable of. This belief has always divided men into contrasting entities: 'we' who are fully human and 'they' who, being different from us, must be less than fully human. This belief is based on isolation and failure of communication.

"The second difficulty, a modern one, is that people cannot be studied as whole human beings in laboratories, we cannot experiment or make blueprints for styles of living. We can only learn from life styles men have developed over many generations.

"Our new knowledge (as anthropologists) is the measure of how far we have come. For we know now, as no one could have known in the past, that all human beings belong to one species. What distinguishes human groups one from another is not inborn: it is the way each has organized and perpetuated experience and the access each has had to other living traditions. Great civilizations have developed out of rich and continual cultural contacts; simple, 'primitive' cultures have survived through the accidents of isolation.

"We now can see ourselves and other people with-

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in a framework that includes all of us and in which our own way of life is but one version among many."

Why Change?

This leads us, then to the first significant change in our attitude toward social studies. But, you ask, why must there be a change? Fred M. Hechinger wrote for the education page of the New York *Times*, Sunday, April 11, 1971, an article entitled "How To Be Very Different, Yet Still Get Along." He says, "As the American melting pot, the schools are in trouble. The ethnic and racial ingredients of the pot instead of mixing or integrating, are increasingly either refusing to mix or exploding. Racial power groups have joined the old line segregationists in advocating separatism, thus dashing hope for an integrated society emerging from integrated schools."

I, having had over thirty years experience in working in the schools of the so-called "ghettos" of Baltimore, know from first-hand experience that Mr. Hechinger's view is right. Therefore, I am in hearty accord with him when he advocates the multi-ethnic approach as a solution to some of our problems.

The truth is: everyone in the United States, except the Indians, is an immigrant or a descendant of an immigrant. However, many minority groups have been ignored, deprived of their constitutional rights, barred from the mainstream of American culture as interpreted by the founders of this nation who were mainly of English descent.

The United States has been fondly but mistakenly called an ethnic melting pot. The progeny of the original settlers, the immigrants, and the ex-slaves were supposed to be mixed in the melting pot and to emerge as the "American Dream" fully aware of and anxious to attain "The American Dream" and fully accepted by their fellow citizens.

But this has not happened except in the eyes of us who are so willfully blind that we cannot see.

Writing in the Washington *Star*, June 10, 1971, William Delaney says "America is not a melting pot after all." It is as Representative Roman Pucinski of Illinois put it "A mosaic, a beautiful mosaic . . ." The distinction between melting pot and mosiac is an important one one that Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania feels may radically change that social structure of America if school children across the land were only taught more about their varied ethnic heritages.

These two legislators, according to Mr. Delaney, introduced bills that currently have been passed that would create a coordinated series of ethnic heritage studies centers around the nation, each developing school curricula and other programs to promote the understanding of a particular ethnic group.

"We've all been raised on the melting pot theory" Senator Schweiker said. "That somehow like homogenized milk, things would come out all right. As we all know, that approach has failed miserably."

"Until we start learning about one another," Representative Pucinski warned, "we are going to see this republic challenged seriously millions of young Americans have lost their identity . . . there is intolerance in this country among respected ethnic groups." Acknowledging the influence of the "Black Pride" movement, Senator Schweiker said in his ethnic studies bill promoting the mosaic theory that the strengths of America are in our diversity; our ethnic backgrounds can help erase prejudices by teaching youngsters about the trials and successes of all ethnic groups, particularly their own.

Overt or subtle racism continues to flourish in this land. It has been a part of American life for centuries; its evil effects cannot be erased by laws alone, but by changes in human beliefs and attitudes. Especially needed at this time is a realization of self-worth, the worth and contributions to this country of one's racial or ethnic group and above all, a feeling of belonging and acceptance toward minority groups, especially those whose high visibility makes them an easy target. This, in addition to the long hidden but now overt resentment of minorities, has created an explosive and dangerous situation.

Therefore, the revised elementary social studies program for the Baltimore City Public Schools has placed high priority on multi-ethnicity in our country and the racial origins and contributions of its citizens with special emphasis on the black American.

The chief reason for the revision of the elementary social studies at this time is the lack of emphasis in our former social studies guides on the real problems that confront us today and the possibility of some alternatives for change and some solutions to these problems.

Few of the present guides in social studies embrace the crucial issues of today. Utilizing the harmonistic approach they deal with social adjustment or congruity. The ends are usually knowledge and intellectual competence; the means are usually the teaching and learning of facts.

If we are willing to admit the truth, we will agree that many of our school problems, both in teaching and learning and in discipline are largely due to prejudice and ignorance racial, ethnic, and social.

New Approaches in Elementary Social Studies

In encapsulating a description of the elementary social studies revision, this basic question immediately comes to the forefront What are the ends, the means, and the methods of the proposed Baltimore

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City Public Schools elementary social studies revision? I should like to answer this query in the following manner.

The approaches to the revised elementary social studies teaching and learning are multi-ethnic, conceptual, and interdisciplinary using multi-media and modified inquiry.

The ends are the discovery of social science generalizations and concepts, development of skills, and changes and/or modification of attitudes, behaviors, and values.

The means is a child-centered curriculum focusing on each child as an individual and as a member of a group. Our proposed curriculum is interdisciplinary in nature in that at each learning level or grade level for each of the concept themes, the pupils will be exposed to the concepts in the social science disciplines of sociology, social psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, history, geography, and ecology. The revision is based on extensive use of such multi-media as community resources, primary source materials, human resources, audio-visual aids, i.e., simulation games, study prints, graphic charts, models, artifacts, films, recordings, etc., and variety of reading materials and texts.

The method is a reflective thought process referred to as the modified inquiry process wherein inductive and deductive teaching and learning methods are used.

To achieve our ends or our goals, the elementary social studies revision will comprise two comprehensive programs. Program 1 is called a Human Behavior Studies Program. Program 2 is called an Urban Studies Program. The Human Behavior Studies Program centers around the concept theme "Human Behavior, Interaction and Adjustment." The Urban Studies Program centers around the concept theme "The Urban Scene: Challenge and Change."

Each program consists of a unit of work for each grade level. Consequently, the elementary revision will consist of two programs, fourteen units, two units for each grade.

You may ask why a Human Behavior Studies Program and an Urban Studies Program for the elementary grades. We are living, as you well know, in an increasingly complex urbanized society. Seventy percent of the population now lives in urban America, and an estimated ninety percent will reside in the cities by the year 2000. The central cities of our great metropolitan areas are fast becoming almost totally black communities. Our most severe domestic problem today has to do with the role of blacks in American life. This does not preclude, however, the role of other minorities in American life. Conflict between the races is intensifying. Social scientists agree, that unless we find a way of subverting this direction, "We will," as John W. Gardner states in *No Easy Victories*, "end up with two nations, with two peoples who don't know each other, don't mingle, and meet only to vent their hostility."

In the meantime, we the "Comfortable Americans" are leaving the children of the cities a legacy of racism, crime, unemployment, decay, blight, violence, and fear. Our children are growing up in an atmosphere of resignation, disorganization, segregation, economic and political failure, apathy, and despair. They are fast becoming "Social Casualties." How then do we develop children who have some sense of their own worth, who have pride in their ethnic identity, children who will become confident, responsible, productive, action-oriented decision makers, children who will become committed to the principle of human renewal as well as physical renewal of our city?

It is a known fact that what we do within the educational framework is of the greatest significance in building the kind of world we need. Therefore, the social studies program provides a glorious opportunity for helping the individual child to fulfill his potentialities and to become an enabler as we pursue the process of revitalizing and renewing society.

Hence, we feel that our two proposed concept themes and the fourteen units contained therein could be, as John Gardner so adequately states it, "Seed Beds of a New America."

Let us now take a more critical look at the fourteen units and note the implications for teaching. Although each unit is multi-ethnic in scope, for two reasons much emphasis is placed upon the darker races, especially the black race. First, their previous state of servitude and/or their high visibility make them targets of intense racism. Second, if they are to take their rightful "places in the line of progression" they must, through knowledge of their African ancestry and their contributions to modern civilization, begin to feel self-worth and esteem.

The first concept theme is "Human Behavior, Interaction and Adjustment." In the unit "Who Am I?" at the kindergarten level, the emphasis is on the development of a healthy self-concept through a variety of experiences and media. The child is helped to become aware of and appreciate his ethnic identity as a part of self-identity.

In the grade 1 unit, "Individuals: Similarities and Differences," emphasis is on the realization that there is beauty and value in individual differences as well as their similarities, and that all ethnic groups have qualities that, if understood, are conducive to successful interaction.

"Group Behavior: Individuality and Conformity" is the major focus for grade 2. Here the children ex-

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plore avenues of interaction and communication between individuals and groups of various ethnic origins.

The chief focus for grade 3 is "Communities Interdependence and Change." It encompasses why man started to live in groups and the interaction and interdependence among communities necessary for survival and for satisfying needs.

Understanding multi-ethnic societies, their development, interactions, inter-group relations, conflicts, persistent pressures, and contributions to world culture are the significant points of emphasis for the grade 4 unit, "Societies Interaction, Contributions and Pressures."

The highly controversial and timely issues of social attitudes, the nature, causes, and effects of prejudice and propaganda are investigated in the grade 5 unit, "Individuals and Groups Prejudice and Propaganda."

The sixth grade unit, "Individuals and Groups Human Rights and Their Protection" is designed to help pupils discover the evolution of the idea of human rights and the history of the ever-continuing battle for the recognition and protection of these rights in America and the world.

An examination of the second concept theme, "The Urban Scene Challenge and Change" reveals that at the kindergarten level, in the unit "Families and the City Needs and Wants," very young children examine the structure of the family as a basic social group the ways in which families everywhere supply their needs and wants, the need for rules in a family, the importance of families to the life of the city, and the importance of the city to families.

At the first grade level in the unit, "The Street Where I Live People, and Services," the six year old discovers the responsibilities of people to themselves and to the people who live on his street. Through investigation, he finds out that the location of services on one's street necessitates cooperation with others and that individuals are dependent on others for satisfying basic needs.

In the second grade unit, "My Neighborhood People and Ecology," seven year olds study what makes a neighborhood, the likenesses and/or differences in neighborhood environments and patterns. They also investigate the ecological conditions surrounding their neighborhoods and their responsibilities to neighborhood development.

The third grade unit for this urban studies program is "Our City A Center of Expansion and Change." Here the pupils are provided opportunities to investigate how Baltimore grew and developed as a result of the efforts of many ethnic, racial, and religious groups. Pupils also study people as they exist in a pluralistic society with conflicting values and norms. Pupils investigate changes in neighborhood patterns, land use, etc., and how these changes affect the people of Baltimore.

"Urban Living People and the Economy" is the focus for the fourth grade unit. Here, pupils engage in an in-depth study of the concepts of money as a medium of exchange, the market system, public expenditure and income, and the local and Federal budgets and their effects on urban minorities.

The fifth grade unit, "The Urban Center People and Government," concentrates on analyzing the local and Federal government its structure, function, constitutional authority, and relationship to people; the process of law making and law enforcement, and their effect on minorities; local and national politics and their effects on the people of the cities, especially the blacks.

"Urbanization The Human Condition Realities and Priorities" is the focus for the sixth grade unit in this comprehensive urban studies program. In this unit, the more mature child investigates the conditions of the city and crucial issues that are confronting its inhabitants. A variety of opportunities and resources are provided to guide the child in analyzing the causes and effects of crime, poverty, unemployment, and racism. He surveys the educational system, city services, transportation system, local and Federal programs, race relations, etc. Alternatives and responsibilities for change are determined as the child investigates the city as it exists today, including causes for its deterioration, and a design for the future, if urban life is going to be satisfying for all its inhabitants.

The Inquiry Method

You may feel that this multi-ethnic revision is abstruse, idealistic, and too difficult to be implemented in the average classroom. Well, think a minute. Before he ever comes to school a child has ideas, tests them, and evaluates their consequences. A young child's growth, both social and mental, is a continuous succession of ideas, tests, and evaluation of consequences. His idea is, for example, that it would be fun to touch the glittering knife; he tests the idea; his finger is cut. His evaluation of consequences is that pain, not pleasure, is the result of his idea. This process goes on endlessly in the development of a pre-school child.

However, when a child becomes a pupil in a school the picture changes sometimes. Bernice Goldmark in *Social Studies A Method of Inquiry* says in discussing current definitions of social studies, "A useful definition would build a concept of social studies as a method which can be described as *knowing how* rather than a *knowing that*."

This brings to mind the idea that the inquiry method is successful because it is founded upon primal

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urges and instincts—curiosity, the desire to investigate, the desire to exchange ideas, the desire to know the truth, the desire to make decisions.

Other social scientists agree that the chief goal of the inquiry method in the seeking of values is helping the child to become a thoughtful maker of decisions, decisions that are the result of the recognition of the problems both environmental and personal that confront him. The child then makes an analysis of these problems by gathering facts, by finding alternatives, then making the best choice. This choice should be based Nancy Bauer says, "... According to probable consequences and recognized values."

If this multi-ethnic democracy is to survive, we must help guide children to work toward agreement with many people who differ in origin, life styles, and values. We must help children see that cooperative effort can provide a solution to the great problem that vexes this nation: the provision for freedom and equality of opportunity for every individual.

This is a wide field which cannot be dealt with adequately within a short dissertation like this. Nancy Bauer, in an article entitled "Value Seeking in the Classroom: The Creative Conspiracy of Teacher and Curriculum," has encapsulated the aims of our social studies commission in these statements.

The reflective individual who is aware of the role of concepts can identify problems and the reality of his environment. The reflective individual sees problems as opportunities because he knows how to recognize differences and judge alternatives by their probable effect on particular values. He is a competent and compassionate decision-maker.

The skills of consensus and skills of problem-resolving through action can be learned and practiced. We live in a multi-group society; we must agree in advance to resolve our issues in accord with freedom and equality. Children can be helped to be analytical, realistic, and courageous.

So, colleagues, in this "Middle time of enduring, changing, trying, despairing, continuing, and becoming," may we all be experimenters, enablers, encouragers, and associates in accomplishment.

The Jew In American History

Moses Aberbach

. . . Above all, it was the ancient Jewish devotion to learning which enabled many working class Jews to move into the Middle Class within one or two generations, and to exchange the crowded city slums for the green ghettos of the suburbs. In this respect, Jews are unique and are likely to remain so for a long time to come. No other religion imposes on its followers the enormous discipline and burden of study that Judaism requires of its adherents. . . .

There have been Jews in America ever since Columbus discovered the New World. Several members of Columbus' first expedition in 1492 are known to have been Marranos, i.e., Jews who had been forcibly converted to Catholicism, but continued secretly to observe Jewish customs. According to the distinguished Spanish historian, Salvador deMadariaga, who wrote a biography of Columbus, the great discoverer was also of Jewish ancestry.

It was in 1492, the year Columbus sailed the ocean blue, that the Jews were expelled from Spain. A few years later, they were also expelled from Portugal. The discovery and development of America attracted many fugitives from the Spanish Inquisition to settle in Central and South America. Unfortunately, the Inquisition followed them there, and many hundreds of Marranos in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil were tortured in the dungeons of the Inquisition and burnt at public autos-da-fe—so-called Acts of Faith designed to save the souls of heretics by burning their bodies. . . .

For a short period, Brazilian Jews were able to practice their religion openly under Dutch rule, but when the Portuguese reconquered the country in 1654, the Jews had to go into hiding or else leave the country. Twenty-three fugitives went to North America and landed at New Amsterdam, as New York was called then. The Dutch governor of the colony, Peter Stuyvesant, at first refused entry to the penniless refugees, but eventually the Dutch West India Co. in-

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structed him to permit them to settle in what was then called New Netherland, but they were not allowed to build a synagogue. Various other restrictions were also imposed on them, and only gradually, after numerous petitions and court actions, were Jews able to live in the colony on more or less equal terms.

For the next century or so, most of the Jewish immigrants to the American colonies were Spanish and Portuguese Jews. As yet, they were few in number, and by the middle of the 18th Century they were outnumbered by Jewish immigrants from Northern Europe. Still, the earliest settlers were the aristocrats of the Jewish community, and the synagogue they built in Newport, Rhode Island, the oldest in the United States, has become a national shrine.

The next wave of Jewish immigrants came primarily from Germany where Jews were always discriminated against. During the period of Reaction following the Napoleonic Wars, the German Jews, many of whom had been emancipated, were driven back into the ghettos and denied the most elementary civil rights, including, in many places, even the right to marry. The situation was particularly bad in South Germany, notably in Bavaria where the authorities adamantly refused to make any concessions to Jewish demands or requests for civil rights. The only escape for Jewish youth in South Germany, where there was a large and prolific Jewish community, was to emigrate to America.

Most of those who came over had neither money nor skills, and they were not physically cut out for the back-breaking toil of unskilled labor. Fortunately, they arrived at a time when America was expanding to the West, when peddlers who knew where to peddle their wares and what wares to offer could make a fair living, and, with luck, settle down and open a store needed and patronized by townspeople and farmers alike.

Of course, the German-Jewish immigration epic was not an unqualified success story. Like the hundreds of thousands of poor Jews today whose plight has far too long been ignored by the community, those who failed a century ago and remained poor, barely managing to keep body and soul together, have been forgotten by history. Only success stories were considered worthy of recording in the annals of the community. The numerous charitable organizations established by the German-Jewish immigrants bear witness to the existence of stark poverty even at a time when some of the earlier immigrants had become more affluent.

The life of the peddlers was hard, in some ways harder than that of the unskilled laborers. To be sure, the peddlers were needed and welcome in upstate New York, in Western Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, as well as in many areas of the middle and far West. They brought the industrial products of the city to the remotest villages and hamlets. Such merchandise was not otherwise obtainable in the rural farming communities which were often far away from the urban centers. But to get to those distant places was no mean achievement. The peddler, who started out with virtually no capital, had to walk long distances in all weathers, summer and winter, shouldering heavy packs up to eighty or even one hundred pounds. He would be away from home through most of the week, returning only for the Sabbath to spend the day of rest with his family. For many even this "luxury" was not available. They might have to spend weeks on end in the countryside, peddling, buying, and selling wherever and whenever they could.

The great dream of the peddler was to graduate to a horse and wagon. Slowly, the penniless, foot-slogging peddler gave way to the horse-and-buggy salesman, and he in turn would open a small store in one of the smaller towns or villages. Instead of going to the farmers, the farmers would come to him. The little store might in time expand into a big store. As cities grew, some big stores would be transformed into something resembling modern department stores. Alternatively, chain stores would be set up first in one state, later spreading over the Union.

Most of the great department stores here in Baltimore Hutzler's, Hochschild/Kohn, Hamburgers, Gutman, and others were established by German Jews who had begun their careers as poor peddlers.

In New York, a number of German-Jewish families entered the field of merchant banking and gained wealth and prestige at a time when merchant banking played a crucial role in the economy. Although these private banks were soon superseded by modern commercial banks controlled almost entirely by Gentiles, the old German-Jewish banking families gained for a time total ascendancy over the Jewish community. It could hardly have been otherwise in a country where wealth meant success and poverty failure.

For all that, it was only a question of time before the German-American Jews in general, and their prestigious banking families in particular, would have to yield control of the Jewish community to the East European immigrants who began to arrive in ever-increasing numbers from the early 1880's onwards. Until the first World War almost half the Jews of the world lived in Czarist Russia, which also comprised the Baltic states and two-thirds of Poland. Another two million or so lived in the Austrian-Hungarian empire as well as in Rumania, most of them in dire poverty.

In fact, all over Eastern Europe the Jews were so poor that literally hundreds of thousands never knew where their next meal was going to come from. My own father, who was born in Eastern Galicia, used to

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tell me that he never knew the taste of butter until he was grown up; that milk was so scarce that he used to steal it from his mother, and that she was trying to hide it from him, so that she should have enough for his younger sister. His main diet consisted of a herring tail and black bread and black coffee or tea. He was no exception. This was the typical diet of millions. By our standards, at least ninety percent of East European Jews were living below poverty level.

Thus, even if political conditions had been favorable, several hundred thousand Jews would have been forced to emigrate in order to survive – most of them to America, the great land of freedom and opportunity. In fact, however, political conditions in Russia were going from bad to worse. The hope that the Liberator, Czar Alexander II, would accord the Jews civil equality was disappointed. After the assassination of the Czar in 1881, the Jews became the first victims of the political and religious reaction which dominated Russia down to 1917. All over Russia, anti-Jewish pogroms broke out, tolerated or even encouraged by the government. Thousands of Jews were killed or injured. Many more were ruined and lost their livelihood. If this was not enough, the Czarist government started a cold pogrom in the form of new laws specifically designed to keep the Jews cooped up in the so-called Pale of Settlement, a huge ghetto in Western Russia and Poland, which they were not permitted to leave, unless they wished to emigrate. Jews were severely restricted in employment opportunities, in admission to schools and universities, and everything possible was done to render their lot as miserable as possible.

This was the background of the tremendous Jewish migration from Russia to the United States between 1881 and 1914 when the outbreak of the first World War interrupted the emigration movement. During this period, the Jewish population in America grew from less than a quarter of a million to well over three million. The new immigrants were much poorer than their German predecessors, and business opportunities were not what they had been a generation or two before. Fortunately, the sewing machine had been invented, and clothing factories and workshops had been established, offering employment to the newcomers. Many of the small workshops were sweatshops where a twelve or even fourteen or fifteen hour day was the norm; where women and older children were exploited for a pittance under conditions of indescribable squalor.

Jews Weather Adversity and Persecution

Not surprisingly, the new Jewish proletariat, concentrated as it was along the Eastern seaboard and in a few major Mid-Western cities, tended to be Socialist in outlook, and the more militant elements were looking forward to a revolution which would put an end to the exploitation of man by man. Unions were organized; strikes were lost or won; and unemployment insurance, sickness benefits, and similar social services were provided for their members by the unions or the so-called *Landsmanschaften*, societies of immigrants who came from the same areas or towns. Mutual aid in times of trouble and distress has invariably been one of the hallmarks of the Jewish people, and provides the key to Jewish ability to weather adversity and survive persecution.

There were other factors, too, which enabled the Jews to solve their problems. The Jewish ghettos such as the East Side of New York or East Baltimore may have had some racketeers, gangsters, prostitutes, pimps, and gamblers. But the streets were safe at night, and the Jewish family remained intact. Parents exercised firm control over their offspring, and although they could not prevent them from abandoning some of the old traditions and customs, especially where religious observance was concerned, they did manage to keep their children decent and law-abiding.

Above all, it was the ancient Jewish devotion to learning which enabled many working class Jews to move into the Middle Class within one or two generations, and to exchange the crowded city slums for the green ghettos of the suburbs. In this respect, Jews are unique and are likely to remain so for a long time to come. No other religion imposes on its followers the enormous discipline and burden of study that Judaism requires of its adherents.

Jewish sacred literature – the Bible and the Talmud as well as later commentaries and Codes – are supposed to be studied, not merely by rabbis and other religious functionaries, but by every male Jew from earliest childhood through his entire life. According to the Talmud, one should not interrupt his studies even when one feels death approaching. Even paradise was imagined by the rabbis as a place where one spends all the time at the heavenly Yeshiva, a Talmudic academy presided over by the Almighty, and joins in discussions about points of religious law.

The German and East European immigrants who came over during the 19th and early 20th centuries knew little of traditional sacred literature, and they cared even less. America, after all, was different, and to continue the ways of the old East European *Shtetl* (township) seemed to make no sense.

The Yiddish, Socialist, freethinking press incessantly preached the duty of Americanization or, in the jargon of our sociologist, acculturation and assimilation. This could be achieved only through the public school system, never by the establishment of parochial schools.

Jewish parents, accordingly, insisted – no matter what the sacrifice involved – that their children regu-

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larly attend public school, and that they work hard and study hard and achieve their maximum potential. No Jewish mother was every satisfied with a B. Her genius of a son must have straight A's. The old Jewish enthusiasm for religious learning was thus transferred to secular studies, with incredible results. The children of semi-illiterate peddlers and of Yiddish-speaking tailors who could not read or write a word of English became doctors and lawyers, accountants and scientists, school teachers and university professors. Among my colleagues at the Baltimore Hebrew College, some hold high administrative positions; one is the son of a tailor, another is the son of a house-painter, and a third is the son of a streetcar conductor.

This educational explosion has reached its peak in recent years, so that currently four out of five Jewish college age boys and girls attend college, thereby virtually assuring themselves a place in the Middle or Lower Middle Class. The disparity between Jewish and gentile educational attainments is likely to decrease as universities and colleges are expanding their intake and the increasing automation of industry and agriculture requires ever more technologically trained personnel, while employment opportunities for unskilled labor are constantly declining.

For the time being, however, the proportion of Jews in college is twice that of the general population in the United States. The proportion of Jews enrolled in graduate and professional schools is triple that for students in the general population. Although Jews account for barely three percent of the population, they provide more than ten percent of all American college teachers. At prestigious universities such as Harvard, Jews constitute as much as one-third of the faculty.

American Jewish Achievements

Jews have also achieved an extraordinary degree of importance in American literature and science, medicine, the arts, and in American cultural life in general. American-Jewish novelists such as Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, and Philip Roth have played a dominant role in the American literary scene of the 1960's.

American-Jewish Nobel prize winners are at least one-third of the total number of American recipients. Jews have always been prominent in Hollywood; the American film industry was largely created by Jews. In recent decades, Jews have also entered the legal profession in large numbers, and they have used their influence to safeguard and improve civil rights.

Prejudices Persist

The achievements of the American-Jewish community are all the more remarkable in view of the fact that even in this Land of the Free and Home of the Brave, religious and racial prejudices have persisted, and many avenues of advancement used to be closed to Jews no less than to Negroes. It is only during the last two decades or so that most Ivy League universities as well as many other institutes of higher education did away with official or unofficial quotas designed to keep the number of Jewish students to a maximum of ten percent of the total student body. There are still country clubs which do not admit Jews, which can be as harmful professionally as it is damaging socially. Until fairly recently, many employment opportunities were denied to Jews. To this day, Jews are rarely if ever admitted to the higher echelons of the large corporations and banks which dominate American business. The recent unofficial and illegal racial quota systems, introduced or promoted by the Federal bureaucracy, has already resulted in serious injustices to individual Jews who would have done well under the old merit system.

A substantial proportion of American Jews and their children are immigrants. There are very few who can boast of four American-born grandparents. The European holocaust is therefore a traumatic memory for the majority of American Jews who cannot forget that the world stood by and refused to lift a finger to save six million European Jews from the Nazi gas chambers. The Roosevelt administration even tried to hush up the reports of the worst genocide in history; while Congress, which had severely restricted immigration as far back as 1924, refused to increase the refugee quota even to admit a few thousand children whose care and maintenance had been guaranteed.

Whatever the reasons for such callousness, which is in sharp contrast to the virtually unrestricted admission of Hungarian and Cuban anti-Communist refugees, American Jews have inevitably asked themselves whether a recurrence of the European atrocity was really impossible in the Western Hemisphere. It is this realization that in the last resort Jews are regarded as expendable and their survival a matter of indifference to the rest of the civilized world that explains the extraordinary support provided by American Jews for Israel. They have noted with alarm the unwillingness of many American liberals, including progressive Christian churchmen, to ally behind Israel before and during the six-day war when the Arabs were openly threatening to throw the Jews into the sea and would no doubt have committed genocide if they had been strong enough to do so. In the words of Rabbi Marc Tenenbaum, Director of Interreligious Affairs for the American Jewish Committee, "This hesitation when Israel's survival is at stake has sobered every Jew. In the collective threat to Israel's existence, we sense a personal threat to our own.

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Many of us now feel that when the chips are down, only Jews will stand up for Jews."

The unbridled campaign waged in this country against Israel following the Libyan airliner tragedy is only the latest example of this Orwellian logic—logic which can equate what is at worst a terrible blunder committed under incredibly difficult conditions and the deliberate Munich massacre carried out by the Black September organization, which is supported and financed by the Arab states, including Libya in particular. Unlike the general press, which only quotes reasonable statements by Arab leaders, statements designed exclusively for foreign consumption and never reported in the Arab press, American-Jewish newspapers quote what the government-controlled Arab press is writing, and the picture that emerges is not a pretty one.

Thus, in the Baltimore Jewish *Times* of February 9, 1973, a correspondent reported statements by Egyptian and Libyan leaders that a *Jihad*, i.e., a holy war must be waged against Israel. Even in King Hussein's Jordan, the daily *Al-Destour* wrote that since there are only three million Israelis, while there are a hundred million Arabs, if killing one Jew will cost four Arab lives, "we (i.e., the Arabs) shall need twelve million Arabs to kill three million Jews. Then our dear Palestine will be cleansed from this contamination. Our losses will be ten percent (of the population), while the Jews will lose one hundred percent."

It only remains to be added that in Jordan nothing can be published without government approval. Is it surprising, then, that Israel is extremely security-conscious and that American Jews, many of whom have close relatives in Israel, generally support Israel's stand?

Upsurgence of Jewish Solidarity

A major symptom of the increased sense of Jewish solidarity has been a mighty upsurge in support for Soviet Jewry, a community deprived of religious and cultural rights, threatened by a government-sponsored wave of anti-Semitism, and hindered in their natural desire to emigrate to Israel. It was largely thanks to the great protest movement in this country and elsewhere that the Soviet government has permitted at least a minority of applicants to leave the Soviet paradise.

Some may ask: Does not all this set American Jews apart from their fellow citizens? Are they not guilty of dual loyalty? Should they not merge their identity with that of other Americans? No doubt, a generation or two ago, when the melting-pot theory was widely accepted, when President Wilson openly rejected what he called "hyphenated Americans," such reasoning would have seemed valid. There were, in fact, many Jews who frankly believed in assimilation, which meant the gradual disappearance of the Jewish community as a recognizable entity.

Today, the situation is radically different. Americans are discovering and cherishing their European roots. Cultural pluralism has replaced the grossly unfair and undemocratic melting-pot concept. Above all, the unrelenting struggle waged by black Americans to have their own culture recognized as an integral part of American civilization—a struggle which has culminated in a distinctive and militant black nationalism—all this has finally put an end to the predominance of the WASPS (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) and their attempt to impose a uniform culture on America. In this new atmosphere Jewish ethnic and religious culture and even a form of Jewish nationalism can no more be denied the right of existence than the rights of other ethnic groups which have contributed their share to the upbuilding of America.

In spite of this, the possibility of a reaction directed against politically active and vociferous minorities can by no means be excluded. The vulgar and often vicious anti-Semitism, which even ten years ago was believed to be dead or dying out, is showing signs of life and vigor. Conditions of stress, and economic and political crisis are usually breeding grounds of anti-Semitism. It is not surprising, therefore, that the last decade has seen a resurgence of militant anti-Semitism, sometimes disguised under different names, and usually confined to limited areas, but potentially dangerous non-the-less.

Such developments may seem all the more surprising in view of the relatively small proportion of American Jewry in relation to the general population about 5,800,000 or less than three percent of all Americans. Jews have become increasingly acculturated, and the rate of intermarriage with non-Jews has been steadily increasing.

Paradoxically, it is the very success of the process of Americanization and assimilation which may trigger a negative response among Gentiles who expect Jews to be true to themselves and not to enter where they are not wanted.

Participation in Causes

Militant blacks, for example, have resented the prominent role played by Jews in the struggle for civil rights no less than southern racists and reactionaries. Nobody wants to be liberated by somebody else, especially when the would-be liberator may well be tomorrow's competitor. It is precisely because liberal and progressive Jews have fought for Negro rights that Jewish preponderance in the educational establishment has been resented by those who see educa-

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tion as the key for their own advancement. Gentile whites, less committed to the cause of black America, have been content to say in effect to the Jews, "You have made your bed, you lie in it. You wanted to achieve civic equality for Negroes, you pay the price for it."

This Jewish commitment to social justice, often at considerable sacrifice to themselves, has been characteristic of liberal Jews throughout the history of the Union. The most recent example was the 1972 presidential election when all white ethnic groups voted for Nixon, while a majority of Jewish voters supported McGovern despite the fact that some sections of his program hardly coincided with the political and economic interests of the Jewish community. Still, unlike other disaffected Democratic voters, Jews felt they owed their loyalty to the party of their choice, however much they might disapprove of the Democratic presidential candidate.

Although Jews have shared some of the prejudices of their Gentile fellow citizens, by and large Jews have been in the forefront of the long and still unfinished struggle for Negro emancipation. Well over a century ago, Rabbi David Einhorn, spiritual leader of the Har Sinai Temple here in Baltimore, wrote and preached against slavery from the very beginning of his ministry in Baltimore, way back in 1855. Long before it was fashionable for ministers to engage in such activities, he preached social action, no matter what the sacrifice involved. In language which is still vibrant with passion, he rejected the idea, widely disseminated by southern Christian Fundamentalists, that the Bible sanctioned slavery. On the contrary, the entire spirit of the Bible was, according to Einhorn, opposed to slavery, even though it might tolerate it as an unavoidable evil. Since it could not be eradicated all at once, the Bible ordained regulations to mitigate the cruelty of slavery and to prohibit its most serious abuses. But it was always intended that the system would ultimately be abolished. It was blasphemy, he believed, for the proponents of slavery to identify God and the Bible with the cruelty and heartlessness of slavery.

"Can *that* Book," he asked "hallow the enslavement of any race, which sets out with the principles that Adam was created in the image of God, and that all men have descended from one human pair? Can *that* Book mean to raise the whip and forge chains, which proclaims, with flaming words, in the name of God: 'Break the bonds of oppression, let the oppressed go free, and tear every yoke. . . .'?"

Einhorn rightly pointed out that, if one were to argue in favor of slavery because it was practiced in ancient times, one might just as well argue in favor of re-establishing polygamy or blood vengeance because they were conventional in biblical times. As to the so-called historic *right* to enslave others, could custom ever justify evil? "Does a disease, perchance, cease to be an evil on account of its long duration?" Would the United States ever have been created if the Founding Fathers had been moved by regard for "historic right?" Did God himself show any regard for "historic right" when he emancipated the Hebrew slaves from Egyptian slavery? Religious principles of freedom and righteousness, Einhorn maintained, must ultimately triumph over "ancient prejudices, over usurped titles and privileges, over hallowed atrocities."

Einhorn realized that the rights of all minorities were threatened including those of the Jewish minority if *any* group were deprived of its rights. He saw no possibility of freedom for minorities in an atmosphere which condoned the enslavement of any people. Those who meant to enslave the Negro forever, also intended to degrade foreigners, i.e., white immigrants, into second class citizens. The extension of democratic rights to the Negro would safeguard the status of all other groups.

Such advanced views were not popular in Baltimore in those days, and before long Einhorn became one of the best-hated men in the city. On April 19, 1861, large-scale rioting broke out; the homes of known abolitionists were set on fire; a few were even murdered. Einhorn had to pay the price for his convictions. Because of his outspoken championship of the cause of justice for black Americans, he had to flee for his life never to return again. He spent the rest of his life in the more congenial atmosphere of Philadelphia.

I have discussed the case of David Einhorn at some length, not only because he happened to live in Baltimore, but also because his example of total commitment to a just cause is typical of liberal and progressive American Jews throughout the history of the Union. Not many people realize that America's War of Independence was won, thanks to Jewish financiers who selflessly provided the sinews of war in the form of interest-free loans, many of which were never repaid. Some of them, such as Haym Soloman, were financially ruined as a result of their unselfish patriotism. The total Jewish population in the thirteen colonies hardly exceeded a couple of thousand. Yet, their role in the most important war ever fought by the American people was out of all proportion to their numbers.

Jewish participation in all the great causes of American history has always been out of all proportion to the numerical strength of the Jewish community. Not only were the Jews the only major white group to render unstinting support for Negro civil rights, a struggle which was also largely financed by Jews, but the entire history of social legislation is

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essentially a saga of Jewish self-sacrifice in the cause of the working men, the poor, the underprivileged, the wronged. Rabbis preached from their pulpits not only against the evils of slavery, but also in favor of social insurance; the right to strike; abolition of child labor; reduction of factory working hours; improvement of working conditions; and the removal of all legal injustices. In all these causes, Jews played their part out of all proportion to their numbers. They also incurred much unpopularity and hostility because of their agitation in favor of social responsibility, of justice for the underdogs—concepts that were alien to the old, uncontrolled Free Enterprise ideals upheld by the political right. Some of the reactionary wealthy elements turned with bitter animosity against the Jews who gained little, if anything, for themselves, but helped to create a better America—a compassionate land of hope and glory, a great country which, in spite of everything, has been and, with God's help, will continue to be, a shining example to the world.

The Melting Pot Concept in American History

FACT OR FICTION?

. . . The melting pot concept was both fiction and fact. That it existed in the minds of idealistic men was a fact from the 17th Century to 1900. The fact that it did exist in reality was fiction. The United States is the federation of ethnic groups. . . .

Clarence K. Gregory

The idea of the "unique American" was an early development in our history. The colonial immigrant even in the early days of Virginia and Massachusetts had to think of himself as a new man. Conditions in the North American forests forced this; after all, there were no "Indians" and few virgin forests in England. By the eighteenth century the idea was firmly fixed. Americans were thinking of themselves as new men, not simply replicas of European folk but an amalgam of many different strains. After 100 years or so of colonial existence, many groups, forced or otherwise, had come to these shores. There were Englishmen, Scotsmen, Dutch, French, African, Germans, Swedes, a smattering of Spaniards and Portuguese. The primitive life of the frontier, a land of abundance, and an abundance of land forced a leveling—equality, if you will—not found in Europe. This vast and fast growing land also produced a distribution of wealth not existing in the Old World.

All of these factors, plus others, tended to develop a self-reliance, not only in personal matters, but also in government. Democracy was said to have come out of the dark forests of Germany. But those dark forests are peculiar because the even darker forests of Africa were said to produce the opposite effect. One wonders why the dark forests of Germany did not produce democracy in Germany. One theory of the development of democracy had it forming, nurtured, and spread by the influence of the American frontier. In reality, the diverse peoples, the conditions found in North America, and their interactions produced the American way of life, its government, and its philosophy.

The American—The New Man

At the time of the American Revolution this belief in the new American, "the amalgam man" had become a stated philosophy. It is inherent in the Declaration of Independence with its egalitarian credo, al-

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though the Africans and the Indians were left out of its provisions. Indeed, one of the basic points of difference in the break from England was the fact that the ruling powers in the mother country no longer understood the "peasants" in the colonies. The best description of this American was given by Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crevecoeur in his *Letters From An American Farmer* written in 1782. He said, "Whence came all these people? They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes (curiously no Africans). From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans has arisen. In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means come together. To what purpose should they ask one another what countrymen they are? Alas, two-thirds of them had no country." De Crevecoeur continues by stating that in Europe they were poor and without substance, "not numbered on any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens. The change has been brought about by laws and the people's industry . . . and ample rewards for their labors . . Whence proceed these laws? From our government. Whence that government? It is derived from the original genius and the strong desire of the people ratified and confirmed by the Crown.

"What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing?

"The Americans were once scattered all over Europe. Here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American is a new man who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American."

To de Crevecoeur, ancestral heritage took second place to free institutions in shaping the destiny of this "new man." In the quotation above, he explained the basis on which immigration policy would rest for the next century and a half.

Those coming to America from 1607 saw themselves standing on the threshold of a new world. They were white, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon, but no Catholics, although a few were allowed to sneak in, most notably in Maryland. There were a few Quakers who were mercilessly persecuted, and no Jews, the ghetto had yet to be built in America.

This "new man" did not call himself "American," that term would not come into general use until long after the American Revolution the first. The United States itself was conceived in the spirit of liberty and "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." But the men who wrote these "immortal phrases" shared the belief of many others that the future of the American normative structure lay within the framework of traditionally British social, religious, and cultural institutions. While America was envisaged as an asylum for Europe's refugees, some of the leading figures of the day had strong reservations about what the effects of unrestricted immigration might be. In a letter to John Adams, George Washington wrote:

"My opinion in respect to immigration, is that except of useful mechanics and some particular descriptions of men or professions, there is no need of encouragement, while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be questioned; for by so doing, they retain the language, habits and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them."

Most of those who favored an open door policy emphatically asserted that the immigrant should quickly take off his foreign mantle and adopt *American* ways. John Adams made this position perfectly clear when he wrote: "They come to a life of independence, but to a life of labor and if they cannot accommodate themselves to the character, moral, physical, and political of this country with all its compensating balances of good and evil, the Atlantic is always open to them to return to the land of their nativity and their fathers . . . They must cast off the European skin never to resume it."

Of the two views cited, it was that of Adams that prevailed, that is, the policy of the "open door" prevailed. The doors were flung wide and the veritable flood began. Contemporaries had difficulty judging the migration of Europeans to America because the numbers involved were of such magnitude and the motivating forces were of such broad scope as to stagger the imagination. The year 1820 can be given as the pivotal year in this migration. The Napoleonic wars had hastened the collapse of the age-old social order in Europe so transportation to the Americas began on a grand scale. One historian estimates that in the century after 1820 some 35,000,000 people were displaced by the upheavals in Europe, whether war, revolution, famine or epidemic. The kinds of forces at work determined who immigrated and who remained behind. Marcus Lee Hansen, probably the foremost historian of the European migration, divides the hundred years into three distinct periods. The first, although having its bare beginnings in about 1819-20, became a veritable tidal wave by the 1830's and reached its crest in the years 1847-54. This was the Celtic Exodus and the people were Irish, Scotch, and Welsh with a lesser number of German, Belgian,

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Dutch, French and Scandinavian from mainland Europe.

The Reluctant Immigrant

In these years, there was another immigrant, albeit a reluctant one. Indeed, he had been an immigrant from the beginnings. He was with Columbus and the other explorers from southern Europe. He was also in the English colonies before the Pilgrims who were among the first Englishmen here. There is some evidence that the African was in Virginia before 1619 which is usually the year given as his date of entry. Ironically, he is never called an immigrant although that is what he was, since he was not native to these shores. This African, this reluctant immigrant, came mostly from the western part of the great African continent. He also came from southern Europe and even from England. Contrary to popular belief, England had hundreds of so-called African "servants," many of them being bought and sold at auction a la slave marts of Charleston, South Carolina or Baltimore, Maryland. Philip Curtin, the eminent historian of slavery and the slave trade, estimates that 15,000,000 Africans left that continent in the years of the slave trade roughly about 1600-1860. W. E. B. DuBois, the first historian of the African slave trade, says that 50,000,000 were taken out of Africa. Chinua Achebe, the contemporary Nigerian novelist, agrees with DuBois, and further states that some areas of the African West Coast have never regained their populations as a result of depletions during the slave trade years. Curtin himself did not disagree categorically with DuBois, he just could not make himself believe that numbers as large as 50,000,000 could have been involved in the slave trade. Not all of these came to the English colonies and subsequently the United States, but substantial numbers did.

The African here was in an anomalous position. He was both slave and free even during the years of slavery. To be sure, some Europeans were slave and free. Servitude, by definition, was just a nice name for slavery. Most historians don't want to admit that whites could have been slaves. In fact, they call white slavery prostitution. The white slave had two advantages over the black slave and neither was a white skin. His advantages were, in most cases, a stated term of service and protection by the courts as to the sanctity of his service contracts. Otherwise, he was bought and sold, had his term of service increased for crime, separated from his children and family, etc.

While the white servant (slave), convict, adventurer, nobleman, aristocrat, peasant or what have you was always an immigrant, the African was never considered such although he was an immigrant like all of the rest. There are almost no records that say this reluctant traveler was an immigrant. His special status required special treatment. The early colonials had something to say about the African immigrant. They said it in their laws, and in this business Maryland led the way. A law of the Maryland General Assembly 1663, C.30 states that "All negroes or other slaves within the province, and all Negroes and other slaves to be hereafter imported into the province shall be slaves as their fathers were for the term of their lives." Section 2 states "And forasmuch as divers free-born English women, forgetful of their free condition, and to the disgrace of our nation, do intermarry with Negro slaves, by which also divers suits may arise, touching the issue of such women, and a great damage doth befall the master of such Negroes, for preservation whereof for deterring such free-born women from such shameful matches, be it enacted . . . That whatsoever free-born women shall intermarry with any slave, from and after the last day of the present assembly, shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband; and that all the issue of such free-born women shall be slaves as their fathers were." Section 3 states "And be it further enacted that all the issues of English, or other free-born women, that have already married Negroes, shall serve the master of their parents, till they be thirty years of age and no longer." Acts of 1681, 1692, 1699, 1704, and 1715 amended this act levying penalities (fines) on masters, mistresses, ministers, j.p.'s, and anyone else aiding in the marriage ceremony. The Act of 1715 also included white fathers of children born to black women, except that the children served until age thirty-one, and the children in this case took the status of the mother rather than the father.

These laws placed the African immigrant in a category dissimilar to any other immigrant group. They were adopted by most of the colonies, Maryland and Virginia simply led the way. Eventually the African was to become a "deleted" part of the Declaration of Independence. In 1791, he became a substantial part of the Constitution of the United States. The framing fathers (comment) could not bring themselves to use slave or Negro in a document of freedom so the reluctant immigrant became a "person bound to service," or "other persons." James Madison, 1840, said that the provision of the Constitution allowing the United States to put down insurrections was really directed at slave rebellions since there was no danger from any other kind. (3/5 Compromise.)

These laws, declarations, and constitutions clearly indicated that the African immigrant was to be different from others. The laws that gave a special elevated status to the English also made them different. The African would not be mated, assimilated, or amalgamated, but perhaps annihilated if he didn't stay in his place. If there was such a thing as a melting pot, the African was not to be melted in it.

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The Maryland slave code mentioned "Negroes and 'other slaves'" as being covered by the provisions of those laws. The "other slaves" are not identified but the reference was to Indians. The Indian was not an immigrant but his treatment at the hands of the English showed the profound effect of skin color on the northern European. First, the "red man" was classified as a heathen, a child of the devil. This gave the excuse for missionary activities among the tribes, but the "superior" white religion and the Indians' non-acceptance of it created the opportunity for sending any number of them to the devil. Thus, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian," early became a white slogan for dealing with the native Americans. Slavery was tried also, but this "child of the devil" had one or two nasty habits. He was not a sedentary farmer, so he would not or could not learn the vagaries of large scale farming. Secondly, he simply moved westward when white encroachment became too strong.

Forcible slavery was tried but the Indian countered this with another nasty little habit. He would take hostages, especially young women and children. Today, we call those P.O.W.'s and we, as a nation, have never been able to accept capture by those of alien color. A Maryland law of the 1650's forbade kidnapping Indian children and holding them as hostages because of the much more effective Indian methods of doing such things. Consequently, the Indian could not be enslaved; he would not become Christianized or accept many ways of the whites, so genocide became the method of dealing with him. The point here is that the two groups of different skin color were not a part of the "new man" concept of de Crevecoeur and others. You were only right if you were white and English or most like the English.

Modified Melting Pot Concept

The treatment of the African and the Indian perhaps only foreshadowed the modification of the early melting pot concept. The first great wave of European immigration was reaching its peak in the 1850's, 1850-57, when the first large-scale political opposition to immigration developed. The Native American Party drew thousands of followers on its platform of anti-immigration and anti-Catholicism. Neither of these concepts was new to American history. A Maryland law of the 1690's kept out the "papist Irish." As was pointed out earlier, even so venerable a figure as Washington had his misgivings about immigration. The Know-Nothing Party was the first to use these in a political crusade. The Know-Nothings had opposition and eventually, this opposition prevailed. The formidable Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote "I hate the narrowness of the Native American Party. It is the dog in the manger. It is precisely opposite to all the dictates of love and magnanimity, and therefore, of course, opposite to true wisdom. . . .

"Man is the most composite of all creatures. . . . As in the old burning of the temple at Corinth, by the melting and intermixture of silver and gold and other metals, a new compound, more precious than any, called the Corinthian brass, was formed; so in this continent asylum of all nations the energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, and all of the European tribes of the Africans, and of the Polynesians will construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature, which will be as vigorous as the new Europe which came out of the smelting-pot of the Dark Ages, or that which earlier emerged from barbarism. Nature loves cross-breeds."

While the "Know-Nothings" as a political party withered away, the ideas that spawned it were still very much alive. However, these ideas would remain dormant for a time but a new day would come later.

New Wave of Immigration

Meanwhile, a new wave of immigration took place. The Civil War years found the influx from Europe lessening, but after 1865 the flow started again. These were the years of industrial expansion, steel, railroads, oil, textiles, meatpacking, foundries and a little later the automobile, attracted workers to industrial centers. These were mainly in the East, North, and mid-West, but a few went South especially to the port centers. This movement found Englishmen predominating, but great numbers came from Scandinavia. Germany sent Prussians and Saxons, and Austria sent Bohemians. This exodus was largely Teutonic, even the English. They tended to settle in the cities, but some went to the German and Scandinavian settlements that had existed in Texas, Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota since the 1830's. In the cities, they formed their own communities, founded newspapers in their native languages, built their Deutches Hauses, Rathskellers, their restaurants, and beer halls. Their love of the brew and their habit of having festivals on Sundays profoundly affected the American view of the Sabbath. Blue laws, before this immigrant wave, were the rule but the assault on them started in this period. Nowadays, blue laws exist only in the breach, almost never in the observance. German beer has become a staple in the American drinking arsenal and sauerkraut is a Baltimore national dish along with turkey. English-German schools became popular and German as a foreign language appeared in the public schools.

This immigration was the American kind; look at it carefully. It was mostly English which included the Scotch and to a lesser extent the Irish, although sometimes the Irish were not considered to be Englishmen. Many of them, if not most, were Catholic and besides they wouldn't melt like other Englishmen. They settled in places like Hell's Kitchen in New

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York, where the English and German police had to enter ten abreast because one or two police were merely candidates for the heavenly beat or wherever police go when they die.

Boston also got its share of the Irish. They would later be called Kennedys, but they still would not be accepted by proper Bostonians. They evidently were "shanty" Irish and only "lace curtain" Irish could make it in the right circles.

In spite of its seamy side, literary Americans grew rhapsodic over this immigration. The United States, land of the free, home of the slave (brave) became an asylum for refuge. In 1886 in New York's harbor on Liberty Island, a statue was unveiled to commemorate the country's status as a haven for the poor and oppressed. It was a gift from the French people, who were probably glad that they could get rid of their poor. One way to solve the problem of poverty is to "off the poor." On the base of this statue was a poem probably best presenting the American view of immigration.

THE NEW COLOSSUS

"Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of exiles. From her beacon hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The Wretched refuse of your teeming shore
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Emma Lazarus was a poet from an old Jewish family in America. Much of this immigration was also Jewish.

These golden years of immigration also had their other side. The peak years were between 1880-90 when fully half of the 1860-1890 wave took place.

The Chinese had started to enter this country in significant numbers in the 1850's immediately following the California Gold Rush. They were welcomed like other immigrants. They were thrifty, trustworthy, courteous, kind, brave, clean, reverent, and Chinese. They built railroads, drained swamps, entered the personal service industries, settled in places called Chinatowns, and generally did the dirty work that white Americans avoided. The transcontinental railroad was finished in 1869. The Chinese had been largely responsible for building its western segment across the mountains to Promontory Point, Utah.

The depression of the 1870's caused Californians to blame the Chinese for rising unemployment. The Hearst newspapers picked up the cry of the dangers of the "yellow peril." Let two of them in and next week there will be fifteen, in six months, 1,500,000 every fifth person a Chinese. The fledgeling labor unions AF of L joined in the fight and as a result Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which barred the entry of Chinese for ten years, but the law was renewed in 1892 and again in 1902. Arguments such as this were used to persuade a not unwilling Congress. "The Chinese, if permitted freely to enter this country, would create race antagonisms which would ultimately result in great public disturbance. The Caucasians will not tolerate the Mongolian. As ultimately all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country would not, without resistance, suffer itself to be destroyed.

If we were to return to the antebellum idea of the South . . . the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work well, they are docile, and they would not be concerned about their political condition. . . ." Needless to say, such arguments were convincing. While we were writing, reciting, and singing paeans to the European immigrants, we Americans were writing laws against immigrants of a different color.

The African Negro, colored, Afro-American, Aframerican, but not black and Indian had not been forgotten. The Indian problem had been settled at the first Wounded Knee in 1890. While genocide was not complete, perhaps 250,000 were left, almost all were on reservations where genocide would be easier. The Afro-American, although legally free, in spite of the pre-Civil War belief that he would never reach that status, still had laws passed against him. From Washington to Lincoln, ways had been sought to remove him from the country. American Colonization Societies, Maryland Colonization Societies, Back-to-Africa movements, the Abraham Lincoln Colonization plan, had all failed. By 1890, the belief that the black man would never be free had changed to "he will never be equal." A Civil Rights Act of 1875, which incorporated the same provisions as that of 1964, had been repealed as contrary to the Constitution by the Supreme Court in 1883. The Fourteenth Amendment had been interpreted to mean a brake on state discriminatory acts, individuals could do what they wanted. Every state south of the Mason and Dixon line was in the process of writing Jim Crow into its Constitution, however, led this time by Mississippi instead of Maryland and Virginia. In 1896, the Supreme Court gave legal sanction to Jim Crow in its *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. "Separate but equal" with emphasis on the "separate" but dropping the "equal," this was the order of the day. This decision effectively removed the last of the "colored" peoples

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from the American scene in terms of anything that realistically and unrealistically could be called American. Indians, Chinese, Africans, are all gone. In the Southwest, the Chicanos were never considered to be a part of the "American man." There was a treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo supposedly guaranteeing certain rights for Mexican-Americans, but this was merely a scrap of paper since only the Mexicans observed it. The "Americans" never had any intention of doing so. Chicanos thus became substitute blacks, Chinese, or Indian, but their common factor was a different skin color from the European. They, thus, could not be allowed to "melt" into the "pot," metal not fiber.

In 1890, the last great wave of migration had begun, but this one was a bit different from the others. This time Slavic and kin, Finns, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Karelians, and Ukrainians were coming. In addition, there were Croats, Ruthenians, Slovaks, north and south from some place called Austria-Hungary. But what was Austria-Hungary? A dual monarchy, they couldn't even get together on who was to run the place, so therefore, two kings. Neither could they determine what language was to be official, so German, Russian, or certain dialectical variations of these were spoken in various places in the kingdom. If these people could not be unified in their homeland, what would they be in America. That unique creature, that innovative American gave them a name, "Bohunks," signifying a hodge-podge, a nothing, a zero. How could they be assimilated, amalgamated or melted? People without a heritage could not.

The other 1890-1914 group, Greek, Italian, a few Spaniards, and some Western Asians, Iranians, Iraquis, Turks, Armenians, etc., came from the Mediterranean. While they were basically European, they were different from the north Europeans. There were few blonde, blue-eyed, long-headed, tall ones. These were short, brown-eyed, dark and with black or brunette hair. Their dark coloration helped to make them unassimilable. Besides, they tended to settle in their own communities much as some earlier immigrants. Little Italys grew and more languages appeared in the public schools. Moreover, a new educational philosophy began to emerge. The educational innovators, led by John Dewey, were developing a philosophy that would make "Americans" out of all these diverse peoples. "Learning by doing" rapidly lost its ethnic origins and was adopted by middle class Americans as their very own. Later, these people would be called the "silent majority" but they still have their learning-doing philosophy.

These years witnessed another entering Asian immigrant group - the Japanese. They were quickly clobbered with a Japanese Exclusion Act of 1907-08. They didn't know that they were substitute Chinese, or etc.

The storm clouds had begun to gather on unrestricted immigration. Defectives, insane, ill, deformed, had already been barred. Theodore Roosevelt inveighed against hyphenated Americans early in his term. However, this was misconstrued. T. R. was really arguing for more Americanization of the immigrant, but it was interpreted to mean anti-immigrant. The melting pot still had its adherents. Israel Zangwill, a Russian immigrant wrote a play in 1909 called "The Melting Pot." It was a terrible play, but it hit a responsive chord in many parts of the United States. "It is the fires of God round his crucible. There she lies the great Melting Pot - listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling . . . Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian, black and yellow, Jew and Gentile . . . Here shall all unite and build the Republic of Man and Kingdom of God . . . where all races and nations come to labour and look forward!

Peace, peace, to all ye unborn millions, fated to fill this giant continent - the God of our children give you peace."

Melting Pot Not a Reality

The protestations of Zangwill and Percy Grant who "personally had experiences" with persons melting in the pot were dying echoes of a fading dream. The Americans refused to assimilate or amalgamate peoples of different colors, Indians, Africans, Chinese, Chicanos, and Japanese. Some European groups insisted on forming their own communities, the Germans, the Swedes, Norwegians, Italians, Irish, Greeks, and others. If all of these diverse people were clearly recognizable, what had happened to the "melting pot" thesis? Why was not there an American made up of parts of all of these elements? The very fact that these groups came through the crucible and still retained much of their ethnic identity gave a partial answer to the questions. In a segregated or isolated society, there is little need for ethnic identity. The group itself is identity enough. In the company of many groups from many different parts of the world, then ethnic and identifying roots become all important. Who am I only becomes important in the mixing of diverse populations, languages, customs, etc. It is no accident that the integration movement of the 1960's also spawned a move to enhance black culture, to secure the roots of black civilization and to produce a positive black self-image. In segregated black communities, the image was less important, but wider contacts made this an imperative.

If the melting pot would not produce the "new American," then he must exist in some other form. There was strong evidence throughout the melting years, that the belief was not a reality. We have cited many of these instances. By 1915, a new philosophy had begun to take root. This was the concept of cul-

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tural pluralism. The proponents of this idea were unwilling to accept the assumption, implicit in the melting pot concept, that all the peoples who came to the United States would fuse into a homogeneous mass. The primary spokesman for this philosphy was Horace M. Kallen who denied that it was possible or desirable for the immigrant groups to lose their identity and argued that American culture had much to gain by permitting each of them to develop its own particular tendencies. He said that America was really composed of a federation of cultures and not one that is uniquely, homogeneously American. Kallen states that "The attainment of . . . a harmony . . . requires concerted public action. But the action . . . would seek simply to eliminate the waste and the stupidity of our social organization, by way of freeing and strengthening the strong forces actually in operation. Starting with our existing ethnic and cultural groups, it would seek to provide conditions under which each may attain the perfection that is proper to its kind. The provision of such conditions is the primary intent of our fundamental law and the various nationalities which compose our commonwealth must learn first of all this fact, which is perhaps, to most minds, the outstanding ideal content of "Americanism" that democracy means self-realization through self-control, self-government, and that one is impossible without the other."

The growing belief that America had reached its peak of development (Henry Ford was paying five dollars a day as wages), the assaults of nativist groups, the KKK, a war fought against one of the large ethnic groups in the European "homeland," and a crusade against immigration raised to presidential level led to the choking off of immigration in the 1924 Immigration Act. A world-wide depression and a second great war served to strengthen the forces of cultural pluralism vis-a-vis those of the melting pot. There has been some easing of restrictions, but the largest immigrant group since the 1924 Act has been Puerto Ricans. They are really not immigrants, but American citizens who can move anywhere in the country that they so choose.

The forces of cultural pluralism were given a tremendous thrust by the civil rights movement of the 1960's. At present, the so-called minorities the blacks, Chicanos, Indians and Puerto Ricans are very vocal as ethnic groups. The descendants of the European immigrants are called ethnics and are emphasizing their ethnic roots. The hyphenated American is no longer a cipher, a nonentity.

The melting pot concept was both fiction and fact. That it existed in the minds of idealistic men was a fact from the 17th Century to 1980. The fact that it did exist in reality was fiction. The United States is the federation of ethnic groups that was espoused by Professor Kallen. In my view, we will never be fused into the "new man" of de Crevecoeur.

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Teaching a Multi-Ethnic Social Studies Program in the Maryland Public Schools

Challenges and Opportunities

. . . We can best overcome our present weaknesses through a planned program of intergroup education designed to permeate every area of the curriculum from kindergarten through elementary and secondary levels. Such a program will not only recognize the contribution of cultural and ethnic minorities in the building of a democratic republic, but it will also attempt to change attitudes, reduce prejudice, and re educate teachers. . . .

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James A. Addy

If the late professor of history at the University of Kentucky, Albert Kirwan, was preparing his doctoral dissertation today the study would probably be entitled the "Revolt of the Ethnics," rather than the "Revolt of the Rednecks." Dr. Kirwan would want to know why a nation that had honored *omnes* - E PLURIBUS UNUM would now emphasize the parts that make up the whole. Indeed, the very presence of our differences within the nation is the cause of much pro and con comment, discussion, and some anger.

In the course of our work together today, we shall examine one agency's response to ethnic studies, the impact of this response, and the difficulties encountered implementing the legal requirements of ethnic studies instruction.

Perhaps many do not know that the State Constitutions of 1864 and 1867 authorized the General Assembly to create "throughout this State a borough and efficient System of Free Public Schools," and provided for their support "by taxation . . . for their maintenance."[1] The Maryland State Department of Education was then established to supervise the handiwork of the General Assembly. Significantly, this was the first act of the Maryland legislature after the adoption of the Constitution.

Included in the legislative acts for education was the statement that, "educational matter affecting the State and the general care and supervision of public education shall be entrusted to . . . the State Department of Education" governed by the State Board of Education.[2]

Needless to say, the spirit of education was very strong, but the flesh for the bones, buildings, programs and personnel was not forthcoming in the quantities needed.[3] For years the State maintained only minimum requirements which would amount to only reading, writing, and ciphering expertise for students who were economically privileged to barely attend school.

This discourse is a little way around the two points that I am trying to make. One, that the State today has realized the goal of full public education and two, that the State is responsible for educational programs in the schools. Strangely, the two major features of the enabling legislation for state education, schools and programs is the center of much controversy today. Without becoming involved in total state funding for education my point is that the power of law is there and full state funding will be achieved before the end of the decade. Regarding the other aspect, program or curricula for the schools, the responsibility to govern what is taught is also well established in law. This last point I shall pursue.

While curriculum development in the Maryland public school systems has been the rule, there is no doubt that the Maryland State Department of Education has the authority to govern the curriculum of the local educational agencies. The Maryland Attorney General's opinion on the authority of the State Board of Education to direct and approve programs in the several counties and Baltimore City is well established. The opinion states that:

> The Legislature has directed the State Board of Education to "determine the Educational policies of the State" and "to enact bylaws, rules, and regulations for the administration of the public school system which . . . shall have the force of . . . law." Article 77, Section 6, Annotated Code of

1. *The Public School Laws of Maryland*, Volume XLVI, No. 1, July 1970, p. 10.
2. *Ibid*, p. 12.
3. *Education In The States, Maryland Department of Education*. Historical Development and Outlook, Council of Chief State School Officers, 1969.

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Maryland, 1969 Replacement Volume. Further, the State Board has been directed to "prescribe, with and on the advice of the State Superintendent of Schools, basic policy, and guidelines for the program and instruction of the public schools." Article 77, Section 15. In view of said statutory provisions the State Board enacted By-Law 300 *General Instructional Programs* and By-Law 400 *Special Instructional Programs* which encompass the general standards and programs regarding instruction applicable to the public schools in the State.

Under Article 77, Section 6, the State Board may exercise its visitational power, said power being summary and exclusive. (See *Wiley v Board of School Commissioners*, 51 Md. 401 (1879), *Board of School Commissioners v Breeding*, 126 Md. 83 (1915). In doing so the Board may indicate a disapproval of education programs if such action is indicated. In a discussion of the visitatorial powers of the State Board of Education, this office said that the Board:

> "has the power, authority, and jurisdiction to supervise and control the management of . . . the public school system and to correct all abuses of authority and to nullify all irregular proceedings." 41 *Opinions of the Attorney General* 55.

The powers of the State Board of Education in educational matters affecting the State and in the general care and supervision of public education may be summarized in the statement of the Court of Appeals that the State Board has the last word on any matter concerning educational policy or the administration of the system of public education. *Wilson v Board of Education* 234 Md. 561 (1964).

With the authority vested in the State Board of Education, various bylaws have been approved that require the local educational systems to comply. One of these bylaws is numbered 325.1. It simply states that, "all public school systems shall include in their programs of studies ...appropriate instruction for developing understanding and appreciation of ethnic and cultural minorities."[4] Fortunately, embodied in the bylaw, a yearly report is required to the State Board on the status of ethnic studies.

Obviously, it is one thing to require action in ethnic studies and another to obtain the kind of program that is instructionally viable, free from odious stereotypes. Since the State Board called for a program in ethnic studies, the state education agency had to provide some leadership. An advisory committee on Ethnic and Cultural Minorities appointed by Dr. James A. Semsenbaugh had recommended an interdisciplinary multi-media ethnic studies program.

The dilemma was mine, how could one person do what had been asked. I had no constituency, was new to the State, I knew that there was not a state curriculum and that I could not possibly produce what they had asked for with the $9,000 that had been provided. Needless to say, there were many pitfalls to avoid, and many were not avoided. At the time, I did not envision three workshops in 1969, 1970, and 1971 to develop the kind of program that was manageable. The workshop in 1969 provided the basis for the ethnic studies program that came to be known as *New Perspectives in Intergroup Education*.

During the summer of 1970, 1971, and 1972, three groups of teachers from local educational agencies worked to develop instructional activities that stress the contributions of ethnic and cultural minorities to our pluralistic society. The activities presented in the bulletin, *New Perspectives in Intergroup Education*, are interdisciplinary and range from early childhood through secondary education. They are not essentially social studies oriented. All of them do emphasize the necessary effort toward accepting people as individuals with positive contributions delivered from the culture group.

In the bulletin, *New Perspectives*, we have four levels of organization which correspond to the current school organization: Level I, K-2 Early Childhood; Level II, 3-5 Elementary School; Level III, 6-8 Middle School; and Level IV, 9-12 Secondary School.

The instructional activities vary in sophistication according to usability with students in the classroom. I must emphasize that the teacher's expertise in applying these activities to the ongoing curriculum is the measure of success. *New Perspectives* is not a curriculum. It is an interventionary program that provides teachers with some assistance in meeting the need for multiethnic content.

After we had written the activities, edited them, and printed the bulletin, pilot schools were needed for tryouts. I was able to pilot the instructional activities in three schools, elementary, middle, and secondary in the following counties: Baltimore, Caroline, Dorchester, Frederick, Harford, Prince George's, and St. Mary's.

The teachers who used the activities advised us on their worthiness and usefulness. During the summer of 1972, we rewrote the activities and added others on the basis of teacher recommendations. Hopefully, model units will be developed that would show teachers how one could effect an interdisciplinary thrust in the classroom without collapsing as a result of the effort.

Underlying the instructional activities are many

4. *The Public School Laws of Maryland*, 1972, Cumulative Supplement, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3, December 1972, p. 134.

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factors that I cannot detail here, but a sampling gives you an idea of the support, other than monetary that is needed.

Supportive Services

Schools, however well staffed and well equipped, can do little toward developing strong, positively responsive citizens without the sympathetic guidance and active support of administrators and civic leaders. Such people must:

- Provide and participate in groups actively studying human relations and multi-ethnic contributions,
- Provide and use extensive libraries devoted to multi-ethnic social concerns and personal values and experiences,
- Publicly support the school's programs in intergroup education,
- Encourage and expedite exchange between the school and the community through classroom visitors and field trips to the workday world,
- Place school personnel on the basis of talent and need rather than on ethnic background),
- Encourage and expedite exchange between the school and legislators and public administrators, and
- Encourage and expedite the interaction of schools with public and private agencies working in the fields of social concern and mental health.

The teacher needs the support of the community, boards of education, school administrators, and supervisors in working with ethnic and cultural minorities. Intergroup education represents total commitment by the educational hierarchy.

There are two questions that should be asked. Have we at the State Department of Education done enough? I suppose I can say, yes, more than I ever conceived possible. The other question is, "Have we been effective?" Yes, we have. But the larger question, "Have we changed behavior?" is beyond accurate assessment. Yet, there are ways in which we can ensure the continuing emphasis of ethnic and cultural minorities in the growth and development of our students.

While Baltimore City has done much in revising ancient curricula offerings remember that Baltimore City is not the total state. The following remarks apply on a statewide basis.

Position on Intergroup Education

We know that children must be educated to live effectively in a multi-cultural society. To accomplish this necessary objective, it is imperative that we correct our shortcomings. We can no longer tolerate, by distortion and/or omission, the disregard in our curricula and instructional materials for the history and contributions of cultural and ethnic minorities. Instead, we must alter our curricula to give pupils the broader understanding they need to live and work successfully in multi-group situations. We must deal adequately and realistically with the background and nature of the current struggle for justice and equality of opportunity. We must insure in all our classrooms the use of instructional materials which objectively reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity of American life and of our world.

I believe we can best overcome our present weaknesses through a planned program of intergroup education designed to permeate every area of the curriculum from kindergarten through elementary and secondary levels. Such a program will not only recognize the contribution of cultural and ethnic minorities in the building of a democratic republic, but it will also attempt to change attitudes, reduce prejudice, and re-educate teachers.

Specifically, a total program of intergroup education would envision:

- An integrated curriculum from early childhood through the twelfth grade with special emphasis in the social studies area.
- Integration of Afro-American and minority group content in the American history curriculum wherever appropriate, rather than the introduction of separate supplemental units which would provide merely peripheral treatment.
- Provision for a separate elective course in Afro-American or minority group history where local needs warrant, but with the full knowledge that it will not fulfill the intent of the mandate which was designed to give all students a broader knowledge and understanding of various cultures other than their own.
- Guidelines for the selection of educational materials which emphasize minority group contribution to the growth of the American nation.
- Elimination of misunderstandings, animosity, and the reduction of prejudice in all the schools.
- Certification of teachers who have had college level courses dealing with minorities in America.
- Retraining of teachers through workshops which emphasize positive attitudinal and behavioral changes.
- Support of the program and cooperation in its implementation by all administrative and supervisory personnel on both the state and local levels.
- Coordination of all agencies and instruments of our society in designing, implementing, evaluating, and modifying, where necessary, a program of intergroup education in all Maryland public school systems.

Reduction of Prejudice. Minority group and ethnic

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prejudices are multiple determined, and perpetuated by a complex interaction of social and psychological factors. The alleviation of such prejudices requires a variety of approaches in education. The basis of any program designed to reduce minority group and ethnic hostilities is the dissolution of barriers which prevent contacts between members of various ethnic and racial groups. It is incumbent upon educational units to reduce group hostility by working and supporting educational opportunities which afford optimum conditions for student interaction in groups and on an individual basis.

Recurring Themes In Intergroup Education

One should not leave the call for ethnic studies and intergroup education without some specific curriculum framework as a recommendation. Broadly conceived, I propose the following:

Rationale. In our experience as human beings we have advanced from isolation to pluralism. In the past, many people lived in isolated groups and considered people of other groups as less human than themselves. There are many examples from history of the refusal to treat members of out-groups with the same consideration as members of the in-group.

But all human beings, of whatever race, religion, language, or nation, share the same human needs and aspirations. These needs and hopes are met in different ways in different cultures. Each culture has its own set of patterns for life and must be recognized as a system valued in its own right.

In the United States, there are many ethnic groups, the result of different cultural and racial heritages. Every person in this country belongs to an ethnic group, and our many cultural heritages enrich our pluralistic society. Within our democratic system, instead of a monocultural society, we can achieve unity through diversity.

Ethnic Themes. Our ethnic themes are: Foundation for Equality: Equal Worth of Every Person, Alliance for Equality: Equal Worth of Every Ethnic Group, Barriers to Equality: Prejudice and Discrimination, and Action for Equality: Ideals and Realities.

I leave the substance of those themes to you. Of course our groups have filled those areas with good material. But please remember the attitudes and approaches that might be expressed in those themes must express positive attempts toward forwarding intergroup education on an interdisciplinary basis.

If the teacher treats *all* students as persons of worth, encouraging them to find and develop their talents and strengths in language, mathematics, social studies, science, physical education, and arts and crafts, the foundation is laid for equal valuing and opportunity for every individual.

In shops and gymnasiums, as well as in classrooms and assemblies, the theme of the contributions of many ethnic groups and of individuals from these groups can be emphasized. Thus students learn to value the pluralism that America enjoys.

Again, in every classroom opportunities occur for bringing out awareness of prejudice and discrimination and for exploring ways of combating prejudice and discrimination. As Dr. Jean Grambs stresses in her book, *Intergroup Education*, the teacher needs to be sensitive to the "teachable moments," which may occur at anytime in any situation at every level, when attitude changes can be most effectively produced.

It is especially in social studies classrooms that the governmental processes for enhancing and protecting equality are studied. But in every classroom, the attitudes that lead to a commitment to full social equality must be fostered.

Have we satisfied Barbara Mikulski, George Wallace, Clarence Blount, Spiro Agnew, Sam Banks, and hosts of others? Probably not, but we have made a beginning. It is rather difficult to please everyone. Perhaps we shall never achieve curriculum equilibrium, and that is as it should be.

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A Critical Assessment

Blacks in a Multi-Ethnic Social Studies Curriculum

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. . . Curriculum and social science specialists and teachers have a clear and compelling obligation to develop teaching and learning configurations that represent the ethnic and racial diversity of American history and culture. Failure to do this will result in a distorted, biased, and fallacious portrayal of American history in the nation's public schools. . . .

Samuel L. Banks

William Edward Burghardt DuBois, a titan in American letters, declared probingly, prophetically, and accurately in 1900:

> The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line.

The "color line" of which DuBois spoke seventy-three years ago encumbers and restricts the role and contributions of blacks in the overwhelming number of the curricula of the 18,000 school districts that comprise our nation's public schools.

This concept (i.e., "color line"), to be sure, constitutes a formidable deterrent to introducing and sustaining teaching about the history and culture of black Americans in the 18,000 school districts and the 2,500 institutions of higher learning in the nation. The paramount factor that causes enormous disquiet and traumatization in school districts is not the concept of multi-ethnicity, but the aspect of multi-ethnicity that focuses on the black American in American life. There is the view that is still prevalent in most of our school districts that the history and experiences of black Americans are lacking in academic validity and significance. Cast in less euphemistical terms it postulates: "The black man was a slave before the Civil War and a colossal headache after."

Curriculum and social science specialists and teachers have a clear and compelling obligation to develop teaching and learning configurations that represent the ethnic and racial diversity of American history and culture. Failure to do this will result in a distorted, biased, and fallacious portrayal of American history in the nation's public schools.

This paper will focus briefly on three principal areas in discussing multi-ethnicity as it relates to blacks: the self-concept of blacks, the inclusion of blacks in textbooks and curriculum resource materials, and the prospects for the future.

The Self-Concept of Blacks

In view of the traducement, hostility, and violence that blacks have endured since their ignominious transport to this country, it is remarkable that today blacks believe in their fundamental humanity and worth. The pronouncement by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in 1857 that the "Negro had no rights that white people were bound to respect" gave legal standing and recognition to what was already an accepted belief in American life. An ethos had been operative in American life over two centuries before the fateful decision of Chief Justice Taney that all blacks were property or a "suborder of life" without humanity and legal standing.

Thomas Jefferson, the "Sage of Monticello," and author of the Declaration of Independence would proclaim with ringing assurance in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* in 1787:

> They (i.e., blacks) seem to require less sleep. A black after hard labour through the day will be induced by the slightest amusements to sit up till midnight, or later, though knowing he must be out with the first dawn of the morning.[1]

Jefferson continues:

> Their (i.e., blacks) love is ardent, but it kindles the senses only, not the imagination. Religion indeed has produced a Phyllis Wheatley, but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are beneath the dignity of criticism.[2]

Jefferson, an aficionado of egalitarianism and liberty, conveyed an image of blacks as a suborder of life who were, at best, "tasteless, dull, and anomalous."

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The invidious pronouncements of Jefferson and countless others who followed, before and after the Civil War, portrayed the black American as an individual without value and worth. Walter White, former Executive Secretary of the NAACP, stated the situation in graphic terms:

> I was a Negro, a human being with an invisible pigmentation which marked me as a person to be hunted, hanged, abused, discriminated against, kept in poverty and ignorance, in order that those whose skin was white would have readily at hand a proof of their superiority. . . . It made no difference how intelligent or talented my millions of brothers and I were, or how virtuously we lived.[3]

While Walter White was recording his recollections and reflections in the face of a mob, in a larger sense, he was recording what it felt like to be black in twentieth century America. The "Kerner Report" and the National Urban Coalition have indicated that racial bigotry continues to polarize and benumb the nation. Unlike white ethnics, the "high visibility" of blacks prevents their initial acceptance and equal participation in the larger society. G. Franklin Edwards, Chairman of the Sociology Department of Howard University, provides a telling commentary:

> One of the great and most painful paradoxes of American life is that the black citizen, although an old-line, old-time American, is in actuality not fully recognized as an American by his white fellow-citizens. His forebears were here long before most immigrant people.[4]

A negative and fallacious portrayal emerges of blacks in American life. G. Franklin Edwards identifies a crucial and pervasive factor vis-a-vis blacks and whites:

> The trouble between Black and white Americans stems partly from the Blacks' history of servitude and partly from prejudice. The target of the prejudice is race, identified chiefly by color.[5]

Curriculum planners, teachers, administrators, and the mass media have a tremendous responsibility in correcting the wrongs of the past and present. Teachers and administrators bear a heavy and special responsibility in helping all children, particularly those who have been told repeatedly by their society that they do not have value and worth because of the color of their skin.

Black history in a multi-ethnic curriculum provides a basis for the unfolding of an objective and factual depicting of American history. In short, our schools must be humanized in order to help black children and youths to discover themselves and recognize their fundamental worth and value. A person who does not know his history cannot really take pride in what he is, particularly if he has been told countless times he has no meaningful past.[6]

Blacks and the Curriculum

Blacks have largely been excluded in a substantive way in the textbooks and curriculum guides in a preponderant number of the nation's public schools. Stereotypes and misinformation about black Americans abound. The "Dick and Jane Syndrome" (i.e., white middle class children) continues in spite of talk of multi-ethnicity. Moreover, textbook publishers continue to promote a duality in publishing textbooks; a regular Dick and Jane variety for suburbia and the South, and a technicolored or "browned o'er" variety for the North.

Curriculum guides in most of our school districts continue to reflect a bifurcation. A separate black course or unit on "minority cultures" is prepared for blacks and other interested students. These units or supplementary materials, offered as electives, fail to reach a majority of the students. What is required in order to reach all students is a fusion or incorporation of black history and other ethnic groups into the total fabric of the social studies curriculum. This, of course, does not preclude the offering of electives. Electives should be offered for students who desire more indepth study and research in black history.

There is a belief which pervades many of our public schools and colleges, even at this late date, that there is really not much to teach about black history. In other instances, blacks are included in the curriculum as a tranquilatory device or pacifier.

Curriculum planners and school administrators in most of our school districts have great difficulty in securing curriculum writers and teachers who are knowledgeable and competent in black history and culture. In most of our public schools and colleges today, the demand for knowledgeable and informed teachers, black and white, in black history exceeds the supply. Consequently, the selection of teachers boils down to the presence of volunteers.

The other significant problem associated with the teaching of black history is the mistaken notion that it is a separate history. This view, of course, is arrant nonsense. The history of the black American is inextricably interwoven with the history of our nation. If black history is not taught and written within the perspective of our total history, a distorted and inaccurate history will continue to prevail. The paramount thrust should be a presentation of the authentic record which depicts the reality and truth of the role and contributions of black Americans to American history.

Textbooks, to be sure, have been of little assistance in this effort. In 1966-67, Irving Sloan, a social studies teacher in the Scarsdale, New York Public Schools, conducted a critical examination of prominent textbooks utilized in a large number of American secondary schools and colleges. Sloan's

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study, with a few exceptions (viz., Caughey, Franklin, May, *Land of the Free*, R. Wade, Wilder, L. Wade, *A History of the U.S.*), shows that the black American, except in a menial and stereotypical portrayal, is largely excluded.

As recent as last year, the Virginia State Board of Education voted unanimously to end its official role in public school classrooms of several controversial history textbooks. The books were written for grades four, seven, eleven, and twelve at the direction of a legislative textbook commission. In a book (i.e., *Virginia: History - Government - Geography*) required of all seventh graders in the state, a passage contained the following:

> Life among the Negroes of Virginia in slavery times was generally happy. The Negroes went about in a cheerful manner making a living for themselves and for those whom they worked. They were not so unhappy as some Northerners thought they were, nor were they so happy as some Southerners claimed. . . .[6]

Biased and distorted textbooks have created enormous problems of positive self-identity for black children. Slanted textbooks and teaching have created a false sense of superiority in white children predicated solely on their color. Kenneth Clark perceptively reveals this condition in his *Prejudice and Your Child*:

> Racial discrimination in America is one example of this tendency to grant preferred status to some individuals and to reject others. In this case the basis for preference is color.[7]

Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University sustains the position of Clark in writing that "While he (i.e., Black American) is totally American in every conceivable meaning of the term, he finds that most Americans are white and that somehow the mere color of his skin puts him into a unique and socially-defined inferior category."[8] The elimination of jaundiced and inaccurate textbooks would constitute a most significant support for truth and integrity in our public schools.

Prospects for the Future

There is still much more rhetoric than substance as regards the inclusion of blacks in a meaningful way in multi-ethnic curricula in the nation's public schools. The outlook does not appear hopeful because of the "color line" and a paralysis of will. The current climate and mood of the nation are hardly supportive of multi-ethnicity. President Nixon, however, assures the nation that our cities have "cooled down" and that the worst is behind us. Reports of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, National Urban Coalition, and the United States Civil Rights Commission do not sustain the President's sanguine assessment. The most recent United States Civil Rights Commission report, a voluminous 425 page account, provided a grave assessment in concluding that there had been a failure at every Federal level, including the White House, to enforce Federal laws equally and fairly. In somber and lugubrious terms the Commission reported that "It (Federal civil rights enforcement) lacks creativity, resources, a sense of urgency, a firmness in dealing with violators, and most important a sense of commitment. Time is running out in the dreams of our forebears."[9]

Blacks in a multi-ethnic curriculum must extend beyond "me-too-ism." The essential thrust in our present-day curriculum building must accentuate fundamental and substantive reform and change in social studies education. We must carefully and rigorously examine the "Seven Cardinal Aims of Education" proclaimed by the Educational Policies Commission of the NEA in 1918 in order to determine their pertinence and meaning in the 1970's and beyond.

A genuine multi-ethnic curriculum focusing on blacks will require a critical and sedulous reexamination of the idealistic and loft professions of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the melting pot theory, the Puritan Ethic, and the concept of equal opportunity. The curriculum of the student must be the realities of our history, past and present: the historic failure of the nation to extend the blessings of liberty to twenty-five million blacks despite their citizenship; the extended study and nontreatment of 600 black victims of syphilis in Alabama by the United States Public Health Service even after penicillin was discovered as a means of treatment; the transfer of blacks from the plantation to urban ghettos; the summary discharge of the 167 members of the all black 1st Battalion 25th Infantry in Brownsville, Texas in August 1906 for their alleged "conspiracy of silence" (recently Secretary of the Army, Robert F. Froehlke, decided after 66 years, and the death of most of the survivors to expunge their records); the recent study of John K. Galbraith that shows ninety-eight percent of jobs in private industry paying $15,000 or better are occupied by white males, and ninety-six percent of jobs in Federal government paying $15,000 or better are held by white males; the meaning of Wounded Knee II; segregated schools in spite of the Brown decision and subsequent Supreme Court decisions; continued poverty in our society in the face of unparalleled prosperity (i.e., GNP over one trillion dollars); the social and economic costs of Vietnam; the growing despair, bitterness, and alienation in our urban centers. Students must be permitted the opportunity to search for and grapple with the "How" and "Why" of these issues, among others, for themselves. Teachers must facilitate and encourage this process. We can no longer proceed with the teaching of the quiet and harmonistic

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dogmas of the past from whence cometh no truth. For ideals, however, noble and inspirational, will not free us as a nation, but the truth offers hope.

Curriculum planners, administrators, and teachers must become cognizant of the fact that the nation is now confronted with a new generation of black Americans who are proud and inspired by their heritage; aggressive, articulate, and insistent in the conviction that our nation live up to its professed beliefs *now*; and uncompromisingly honest in their delineation of the plight of black Americans in today's society. Their heroes are Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Eldridge Cleaver, Angela Davis, Imamu Baraka, Nikki Giovanni, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, Ahmed Evans, Ron Karenga, Parren Mitchell, Julian Bond, and other vigorous advocates of immediate political, economic, and social change.

The demands of blacks for black history and culture in the 1960's have provided momentum for white ethnics in the 70's in their efforts for ethnic studies and increased recognition. The development of a rapprochement between blacks and white ethnics looms as a far distant possibility because of prejudicial thinking and mutual suspicion in terms of goals and methods.

A multi-ethnic curriculum will require the following essentials:

- A concentrated, indepth, and on-going sensitization of the total staff (viz., school board members, teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, clerical, and custodial staff, etc.) in terms of value clarification and interpersonal relations.
- Provision for indepth training for all teachers and supervisory personnel in minority history and culture (viz., Black, Chicano, Indian, Jewish, etc.).
- Utilization of printed and multi-media materials that are multi-ethnic in their focus and content.
- Development of administrative and teaching staffs that are bi-racial in composition.
- Establishment of a partnership with the total community (viz., religious groups, student groups, civic groups, institutions of higher education, P.T.A.'s, elected officials, business groups, etc.) in order to cooperatively achieve educational goals.

William E. B. DuBois died in Ghana in 1963 at the age of 95, an expatriate, and a citizen in Ghana. Ironically, on the day of his death, Martin Luther King, Jr. was proclaiming his "Dream" to an enraptured and ecstatic crowd of 200,000 Americans, black and white, at the base of the Lincoln Memorial. The euphoria of 1963 has largely been dashed, but the "color line" persists. An opportunity now exists in our public schools to strike a blow for freedom in order to permit the diversity and richness of our history to unfold to all of our students.

The chief role of teachers, who, in fact, constitute the curriculum, as orchestrators and facilitators of the learning process, is to assist and provide direction for students to honestly portray the truth and diversity of our past and present. Blacks, then, will be seriously and substantively involved in the curricula of our schools. This, to be sure, is an awesome challenge for our schools and society. It offers hope for truth and human possibilities to consign the ancient "color line" to disrepair and disrepute in our nation's schools and national life.

The inclusion of blacks in a multi-ethnic curriculum requires more than a simplistic adding to the historical fruitcake. It will take teachers of enormous courage and intestinal fortitude to teach the history of this country *as it is* as opposed to what it is *supposed to be*. Charles E. Silberman makes an insightful observation in stating in *Crisis in Black and White* that "Nothing less than a radical reconstruction of American society is required if the Negro is to be able to take his rightful place in American society." Conversely, nothing less than a "radical reconstruction" of the curricula of our nation's public schools is required to bring truth, integrity, and reality to blacks in a multi-ethnic curriculum.

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1. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1787.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Walter White, *A Man Called White*, page 10.
4. "Communities and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change" by G. Franklin Edwards, *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Volume 95, No. 1 (Winter 1966) page 1.
5. *Ibid*, page 1.
6. News Article, *The Washington Post*, January 29, 1972, page B-1.
7. Kenneth B. Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child*, page 4.
8. Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American*, page 6.
9. News Article, *The Washington Post*, February 10, 1973, page A-1.

Five Years Later

A Critical Assessment of the Effects of the Kerner Report

. . . Some eras in history seem to encourage fairer public opinion than others. For example, during the administration of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson, people seemed closer together and more concerned about human rights. . . . There seemed a greater desire then, to correct the effects of past discrimination. Unfortunately, this commitment did not go far enough. Few realized how great an effort was required to get rid of institutional racism. . . .

Marion Sjodin

In 1967, many American cities were torn by violent domestic rebellions. Baltimore was not one of them.

Later that year, when President Johnson appointed a study commission to probe the causes of these riots and recommended actions to preclude such upheavals in the future, many Baltimoreans read this news with only an academic interest. After all, it hadn't happened here.

For almost a year this panel—the Kerner Commission—studied, held hearings, conducted interviews, inspected police records and made site visits. Meanwhile, the turbulence continued, and if anyone was waiting eagerly for the report of the Kerner Commission, it was not, probably, the residents of the riot area, nor their advocates. The Kerner Commission members, it was felt, were so moderate, so much a part of, or at least so much tuned in to "the establishment," that if they had blamed "outside agitators," no one would have been surprised. Indeed, it was what most Americans were conditioned to expect. So, when on March 1, 1968, the Kerner Commission concluded that "the Urban Disorders of the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequence of, any organized plan or conspiracy," and pinpointed the destructive conditions of life in city slums, created by institutional racism, as the root of the violence, the nation was shocked—not at the conclusions themselves, but at the fact that such a body of moderates could reach those conclusions—that they could ferret out the truth in the first place, be able to recognize the truth once they found it, and would forthrightly state it if they did recognize it. Furthermore, the report was so complete and so carefully documented that it was the perfect squelch to the radicals on the right, and for the time being at least, they were speechless.

No unit on Afro-American history would be complete without a consideration of the white racism that has, throughout our history, contaminated the black experience. The Kerner Report provides the most comprehensive documentation of white racism available.

The report emphasizes and details three aspects of the urban situation:

- "Racial discrimination in employment, education and housing, which creates 'corrosive and degrading effects' on blacks;
- "The migration of poor blacks to the inner cities and the concurrent movement of the white middle class to the suburbs, which causes physical facilities to deteriorate and the delivery of essential services to slow down;
- "The intersection in the urban ghettos of segregation and poverty which serves 'to destroy opportunity and hope and to enforce failure' and plunges the people trapped there into crime, narcotics addiction, permanent welfare status, and, bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular."

Specifically, the Commission identified twelve deeply held grievances common to all the riot torn cities, and ranked them as follows in the order of their intensity:

- The abrasive relationship between the police and the minority communities
- Unemployment and underemployment
- Inadequate housing
- Inadequate education
- Poor recreation facilities and programs
- Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms
- Disrespectful white attitudes
- Discriminatory administration of justice
- Inadequacy of federal programs
- Inadequacy of municipal services

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- Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
- Inadequate welfare programs

In Baltimore, this analysis got different reactions in different parts of the community.

At the end of 1967, David L. Glenn, director of Baltimore City's Community Relations Commission, hailed the Kerner Commission's findings and remarked that, so far, Baltimore had escaped a riot, not because it was so good, but because it was very lucky. Frustration and rage, the same ingredients that produced rebellions in other cities were also festering in Baltimore.

As Mr. Glenn stated . . . "large numbers of black people remain mired in poverty. Members of the Negro labor force are frequently given the most disagreeable and lowest paid jobs in industry. The unemployment rate is much higher for blacks than for whites. Schools in ghetto areas still occupy the oldest buildings and receive the lion's share of uncertified teachers. In short, the vicious cycle of under-education, inadequate employment and poverty continues to plague the black citizens of the United States." But other citizens, preening themselves prematurely, kept on thinking that "it couldn't happen here."

Thoughtful individuals agreed with Mr. Glenn, kept their fingers crossed, and hoped Baltimore would stay lucky.

The luck all ran out on April 4, 1968 upon the assassination of a great American leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As the people mourned his untimely death, the inevitable finally happened as everyone knew it would, given such a precipitating incident.

The actual rebellion began on Gay Street some time between 3:30 p.m. and 5:30 p.m. on Saturday, April 6th. It lasted three days and left six people dead and 1,049 businesses burned, damaged, or looted.

The Governor of Maryland responded to the tragedy not, as had been hoped, with an immediate emergency reallocation of state funds to give help to the people of Baltimore. Nor did he declare his intent to communicate more closely with leaders in the black community to determine priorities for remedial action. He did not even, as had been expected, simply give an expression of sympathy. Instead, he called as many key leaders of the black community as he could identify to scold and sneer at them for failing to disassociate themselves from "radical" blacks. It was a grievous, infuriating, polarizing insult.

Shortly after his inauguration, the governor had selected a group of individuals black and white, Democrats and Republicans, citizens and legislators — to serve as his "civil rights advisory committee." Knowledgeable observers hinted that this committee was intended to bypass and further emasculate the State Human Relations Commission which had less power and budget then than it does now. It would not only have been more proper, but more effective and efficient for the State Commissioners to have "advised" the Governor. But despite that, the Governor's committee members were, for the most part, sincere in their desire to improve human relations.

Committee members were as dismayed by the insensitive remarks as anyone else, and immediately arranged a meeting with the Governor in Annapolis.

An apology to the black leaders was discussed. The governor said that he wouldn't apologize - he meant it - and that they were the ones who should apologize to him for walking out. One State Senator gave an eloquent plea for an apology. "You don't know how wrong you are," she said. The governor replied that he still couldn't apologize.

In an effort to partially end this impasse, one committee member timidly suggested that an endorsement of the findings and recommendations of the Kerner Commission might have the effect of an apology without actually being one. The Governor agreed that that was a possibility. But by then, the time was up. Someone came in to say a driver was waiting to take him to a Young Republican Convention in Atlantic City. Next morning, it was a shock to read that the Governor of Maryland, fresh from that meeting, had basically repeated the same irresponsible speech. He was off and running after that, and never met with the committee again. His rise to prominence confirms the Kerner Report's declaration that white racism is still widespread in America.

"Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal," was the disquieting declaration of the Kerner Committee.

But it was hopeful too. "This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can still be reversed. Choice is still possible," provided there is compassionate, massive and sustained national action, concluded the report. The recommendations were made with a sense of "great urgency." Warned the Commission, "there can be no higher priority for national action."

Five Years After

That was five years ago. Today, much talk and many programs later, according to the Census Bureau, about one-third of the nation's 23,000,000 blacks are still living in poverty. On the other hand, only ten percent of white Americans are similarly destitute. On the average, a white family earns $100 for every $60 earned by a black family. This inequality exists despite impressive education advances by blacks in recent years. In 1971, the high school dropout rate nationally was 11.1 percent for blacks; for whites, it was 7.4 percent, not a great deal lower. There is little reason to wonder, then, why some young blacks may

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become discouraged about the promise of education.

Recent cutbacks in funds for Community Action and Model Cities programs have ended the War on Poverty just as it was getting started. Manpower training programs have been devastated.

On the legislative front, efforts are also underway to roll back the calendar and to wipe out even the limited gains of the past decade. For example, public opinion, justifiably indignant over recent brutal killings, is mounting for a return to capital punishment for certain types of heinous murders. Some elected officials, without thinking it through all the way, are responding to this pressure. All the camel wants is his nose in the tent. After that, it won't take long before capital punishment is restored completely. And, if past history and present trends are any indication, that could mean genocide or at least a renewed opportunity for the oppression of blacks. It is well documented that, across the nation, black defendents receive harsher penalties than whites for similar crimes.

Judge Joseph Howard's 1967 survey of the administration of rape cases in the State of Maryland offers an excellent example of this racism. He found that, since 1923, fifty-five males have been sentenced to death for rape forty-six were black; seven were white; two were Puerto Rican. Thirty of these men were actually executed, all for raping white women. No man has ever been executed in Maryland for raping a black woman. Should there be a return to capital punishment, the probability seems high that the same disproportionate justice will resume.

The Baltimore Scene

Let us now turn specifically to the Baltimore scene. In employment, the situation may actually have worsened. Racial discrimination by employers is still with us. It has become subtle, sneaky, and hard to detect, but it is still there. In 1972, the Community Relations Commission, the City's anti-discrimination enforcement agency, took in fifty percent more racial complaints than it received in 1971. There has been a steady increase in racial discrimination cases every year since the law was enacted. The staff should be increased, and CRC's authority should be strengthened. This has not been done, but CRC still makes every effort to handle these cases honestly and objectively. As a result, there is a current movement in higher places to curtail the Commission's powers, thereby diminishing, instead of increasing, its effectiveness.

The local unemployment rate in 1972 was only five and seven tenths percent for whites. For blacks, it was nine and seven tenths percent, not quite double. Four years ago, the black unemployment rate was only six and one tenth percent. This gap is sure to widen as unemployment increases. It is still mostly black employees who are the "last hired, first fired."

In Baltimore, the median income for white families is $9,800; for black families, it is $7,200.

Twenty-six percent of all the black residents in Baltimore City are living below the poverty level. Only ten percent of the whites subsist at a comparable level.

In education, as noted previously, black young people tend to remain longer in high school now than was previously the case. But this is not as great a cause for optimism as it looks. It may be due to the lack of available jobs for young people, even upon graduation. Moreover, there is still a disparity at the upper education levels, with only 3,157 black men over twenty-five in Baltimore who have completed four or more years of college, as compared with 16,846 white males over twenty-five.

Baltimore City Health Department statistics also reveal the racial inequality of poverty: 1972 figures for infant mortality show more than two times as many deaths of black babies than of white babies.

Homicide figures, even more disparate, show seventy-four white and 287 non-white deaths last year.

According to a recent study by the Baltimore Task Force on Juvenile Justice, "throughout Maryland, referrals to juvenile courts are seventy percent white, yet fifty-four percent of the commitments to training schools are black."

At a time when education could play a crucial role in supplying wholesome activities for youth, there are no available funds to continue a summer school program in Baltimore City. The City Council regrets this, of course, but there seems a greater apprehension about raising taxes. How can this be racism? Seventy percent of the City's student population is black.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of institutional racism is the community of Fairfield, right here within the city limits. Until you see it yourself, it is impossible to believe a community like Fairfield could exist today as part of the modern City of Baltimore. Like a scene transplanted from the rural south in the thirties, Fairfield endures in patient irony against a landscape of dynamic, growing industry.

Unpaved, with no curbs or sidewalks, and undrained, the streets become muddy canals when it rains. Dilapidated abandoned cars, mired beside heaps of trash and rubble on City or industry-owned vacant lots, get no attention from the Police Department. The neighborhood school was built to be a warehouse.

Many homes lack sewers and plumbing facilities; this forces some families to share bathrooms or use outhouses. In the summertime, biting insects breed in the smelly, stagnant septic tank water that runs off to the roads.

On the periphery of Fairfield is a scrap metal junk-

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yard. Its ugly trucks block the residential street, an illegal practice done with impunity. Rotting rubber tires have been wantonly thrown along the roadside: the dealer accepts only the metal parts of old cars.

The residents of Fairfield are black.

To date, city officials have failed to explain why Fairfield has not been receiving basic city services. They keep promising various improvements, but nothing has actually materialized. It is believed that since this land is zoned M-3 for heavy industry, they may feel that the residents may not be there much longer. Fairfield, however, has existed as a community since long before the turn of the century, and has been waiting that long for officialdom to recognize its right to exist.

Because of the zoning classification, Fairfield is not eligible to receive Federal funds for improvement. While the chances for a change in the zoning seem remote, long suffering taxpayers of Fairfield nevertheless feel that somehow, some way, the city could surely find the means to provide the customary city services that other neighborhoods take for granted. Another nearby community, Wagner's Point, is also zoned industrial. Wagner's Point is far from Utopian, but it, at least, has sewers and sidewalks and curbs. But, Wagner's Point is white.

Some eras in history seem to encourage fairer public opinion than others. For example, during the administration of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson, people seemed closer together and more concerned about human rights. While the concepts of "Black Power" and "Black Pride" did threaten some whites, many others were starting to move away from such racism. There seemed a greater desire then to correct the effects of past discrimination. Unfortunately, this commitment did not go far enough. Few realized how great an effort was required to get rid of institutional racism.

Half Truths Damage

Today, many of yesterday's civil rights enthusiasts are devoting themselves to safer worthy causes such as preservation of the environment and discrimination against women. Others have completely crossed over to campaign against reverse discrimination, i.e., the goals implicit in affirmative action employment programs.

They have bought the myth of welfare fraud. Despite repeated news articles about the average welfare family in Baltimore living on $200 per month, or fifty-seven and eight tenths percent of the minimum subsistance standard established by the State Department of Social Services ($106, food; $18, clothing; $40, rent; $15, utilities; $15, everything else), they decry the "affluence of lazy welfare recipients."

Whether they know it or not, they deny the validity of the Kerner Report when they liken the black experience to the white immigrant experience and scold those who "make excuses for apathy and violence." They refuse to acknowledge how poverty and oppression can destroy the soul and often kill incentive.

They keep saying, "Look how far we've come, without commenting on how far we have yet to go, and without considering how far back we started. In other words, two times one is still only two, and the citizen should beware of statistics that are quoted, glowingly, to show such growth as a 'doubling of the black labor force' and a 'quadrupling of black income'."

They have elected many individuals who are unresponsive to the needs of poor people and black people. They have given ample justification to Mrs. Madeline Murphy's harsh statement, in the Afro-American last year, "Scratch a liberal and you get a racist."

In other words, officials and legislators at all levels, as well as many average citizens, seem not to be heeding the warnings and the evidence with the sense of urgency that it would take to reverse the present trend.

It may be too late already. But then, maybe not. At the present time, there is one piece of good news the possibility that a Federal court could order Baltimore City to pay millions of dollars to black firemen who, over the years, have been victims of discrimination by the Fire Department. If this happens, the City Departments may hasten to mend their ways, thereby ending one form of institutional racism and setting a good example for the eradication of others. It is a bright hope.

Recently, there has been a rash of books and articles urging civil rights leaders to refrain from promoting "senseless myths of genocide or despair," and emphasizing what they term "remarkable" gains for black people in recent years. Truth is not served by telling only part of it. Such specious reasoning can and probably already has done untold damage to the struggle for equal opportunity by luring citizens into a complacent misconception that it is already here.

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A Critical Assessment

The Indian in American History

. . . Fairness and justice are not only the right of those who now have unequal treatment and opportunity; seeing that unfairness and mistreatment do not exist is the responsibility of those who receive more favored treatment and have better opportunities. It has been said many times, but it is worth repeating, that as long as any of us is in bondage none of us is free. . . .

Herbert Locklear

The present plight of the Red Man is an indication of exactly how far he has fallen from his state of Noble Savage in little more than 450 years. At first, the newly discovered Indians were greatly respected and admired. Columbus brought home six Indians to show Queen Isabella, and dressed in full regalia, they quickly became the curiosities of Spain. Sir Walter Raleigh brought back Indians also, and a craze swept Elizabethan England. Shakespeare complained about it in The Tempest: "They will not give a doit (a small coin equal to about half a farthing) to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." The French philosopher Michel de Montaign talked with Indians who had been brought to the French Court and concluded that the Noble Savage had been found, for the Indian "hath no kind of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politics, no use of services, of riches, or of poverty. . . . The very words that import a lie, falsehood, treason, covetousness, envy, detraction, were not heard among them."

The Puritans in New England were not immediately presented with an Indian problem, for diseases introduced by trading ships along the Atlantic Coast had badly decimated the red populations. Yet, the Puritans failed miserably in their dealings with even the remnant Indians. They insisted upon a high standard of religious devotion that the Indians were unable or unwilling to give. The Puritans lacked any way to integrate the Indians into their theocracy, for they did not indulge in wholesale baptisms (as they charged the French did), nor were any Puritans specifically assigned to missionary tasks.

In 1637, a party of Puritans surrounded the Pequot Indian village and set fire to it after these Indians had resisted settlement of whites in the Connecticut Valley. About 500 Indians were burned to death or shot while trying to escape. The woods were then combed for any Pequots who had managed to survive, and these were sold into slavery. The whites devoutly offered up thanks to God that they had lost only two men. When the Puritan divine Cotton Mather heard about the raid, he was grateful to the Lord that "on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell."

"The American Indian today is about to go over the brink—not only of poverty and prejudice, but of moral collapse," says William Byler, executive director of the Association on American Indian Affairs. The Indian has learned that no one wants to listen or to understand when he speaks his thoughts about his own future. He is bewildered by the capricious policies handed down in Washington—first telling him to leave the reservation and get a job in the city, next telling him to stay on the reservation and bring industry to it. Some politicians tell him that he is a child who must be protected by the kindly "white father," and other politicians tell him that he is man enough to be cast adrift to sink or swim in the capitalist tide. The result of such confusion is widespread apathy among Indians. Probably no other people in the United States is so misunderstood as the American Indian. Probably no other people has had so many myths woven about its way of life. Misinterpretations of Indian thinking, customs, and attitudes consistently and continually arise and spread. Myths about Indians are wide in range, from such prosaic subjects as everyday food preferences to philosophical and religious tenets. One more of these myths about the first Americans has influenced the ideas of almost everyone—Indian and non-Indian alike.

Stereotyped Misconceptions

To clear up some of the stereotyped misconceptions and thus illuminate the thinking about American Indians, a historical approach seems best. It has been said that the Indian wants essentially to go back to precolonial days, that he lives in the past, and that his constant looking backward impairs his potential for present and future development.

It is true that Indian people are oriented to the past. But this does not mean that they expect or even want to return to the ways of living three centuries ago. Nor does it mean that their usefulness and interest in the present and future are necessarily limited. Their orientation to the past is not surprising. With rare exceptions, the only achievements that Indian

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people in this country can point to with pride occurred long ago. It was in earlier centuries that the Indians' life-style provided a sense of heroism and adventure and brought them satisfaction and tranquility. As a people they have been able to make little or no contribution to the present. Therefore, their future seems vague and uncertain.

Priorities

To have hope and plan effectively for the future, Indians must learn to reorder their priorities, and this is not an easy objective to attain. However, like people of other ethnic groups, American Indians are actively and diligently seeking ways to resolve the many problems that deter such a reordering. A change in priorities involves a shift, in some degree at least, from past to present orientation. The greatest obstacles to this are tribalism and the lack of goals and purposes that are recognized and accepted by all Indians.

The patriarchal family system complicates the transition from a past to present focus. Under this system the older fathers and the grandfathers are to be shown respect at all times, and their wishes strictly adhered to in most instances. These elders are, of course, traditionalists. They hold onto the ways of the past that have proved to be right and that have been gratifying for them and their people. This is natural. Why should a people disregard and abandon ways of life that have brought them satisfaction, just to try to be modern or to keep up with new ways of other people in this country? The wise course for the Indian would be to determine which are the best parts of the old and the best parts of the new, then integrate them into a workable present. While doing this, the Indian should also retain intact his image of himself as a member of his tribe and race and self-assurance in his relationships with people of other races and groups with whom he comes into contact.

Another factor complicates the Indians' move toward becoming more closely related to the present—and also complicates any efforts that Indians or non-Indians may make to relate the present more closely to the Indian. That factor is the stereotyped image of the Indian that certain communications media present, especially the movies and television. The media continue to present a distorted view of the conflicts during the past three centuries between the Indians and the white men, denigrating the Indians' role and glamorizing that of the settlers who were struggling to introduce new modes of living to forest and mountains, rivers and lakes, desert and plains. With the influence that television and the movies wield on public opinion, they have relegated the Indian to an unenviable position in American history. To the average American, the Indian is a folk figure, historically playing the role of the villian, except for a few extraordinary heroic characters.

There are some anthropologists, sociologists, social workers, and historians who recognize that the Indian has contributed significantly to America's heritage and culture. The task is to help the majority of Americans see this and realize that the Indian is not a mere folk figure but a real person with needs, hopes, fears, and ambitions for his own future and that of his children.

The belief that Indians not only revere but want to return to the life of the past is a myth that is part of the folklore enveloping the first Americans. Actually, most Indians want to participate actively in the life of the present. They will do so gladly and willingly if they are accepted and permitted to live in accord with at least some of the ideas they believe to be right and essential for man's well-being. It is the author's thesis that a person cannot truly be accepted unless what he stands for basically is also accepted.

Indian Ecology

Many Indian ways should be accepted and preserved. They should be preserved not merely because the Indian wants to keep them, but because time and experience have demonstrated that they are more likely to encourage man's survival than some ways of modern contemporary society. Consider, for example, the problems of pollution and preservation of natural resources, which have recently skyrocketed to global importance. Indian efforts in these areas are unsurpassed, even considering the upsurge of activities today to cope with current critical conditions. Although Indians were predominantly nomads for hundreds of years, they never polluted the territory in which they lived and moved. Instead they carefully disposed of their wastes so that the land and the water were not damaged or ruined for those who came after them. They never took more from nature than a man, a family, or a village needed or could consume. They did not kill for sport. Can the Indians' customs related to conservation and pollution be applied today? Men are not going to eliminate the factories with deadly fumes billowing from their smokestacks—although they may per force reduce the amount and the deadliness of the fumes, nor will men discontinue hunting for sport; but cannot the Indian philosophy be applied to contemporary practices and development affecting natural resources?

For instance, when a corporation decides to build a multimillion dollar enterprise in a neighborhood, the planner's thinking should go beyond the financial returns on the investment, even beyond the working conditions of those they will employ. Plans should consider also how noise, appearance of the plant, physical or chemical residues, and other factors re-

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lated to the enterprise's operation could affect the people of the neighborhood and the surrounding region. A commitment not to foul the area or create detrimental conditions for those who live and work there should be important in planning the enterprise—even though this means a reduction in short or even long-term financial gain for investors.

The man who likes killing for sport should be involved in programs for conserving game animals. State and local authorities responsible for controlling shooting and hunting should encourage the killing of plentiful or overabundant species. If the species is scarce, the sportsmen and the authorities should cooperate in programs that prohibit or limit the kill and that promote conditions favorable to replenishment of the species. That is the Indian way: preserve and replenish. That is one of the Indian ways that should be maintained.

Work Habits

Myth has also been built up around the Indians' work habits. It has been said that Indians will not work, that all they do is laze around the reservations and wait for the government to support them. It is said that the Indians are happy doing nothing, that programs calling for their active participation are doomed to failure because of their lack of ambition, interest, and skill.

A first step in clarifying this myth is understanding why the Indians receive money from the government. The Indian people do not receive financial aid or assistance in kind from the state or Federal government because they are destitute or merely because they are Indians. Most of the money paid to tribes or individual Indians comes from funds that already belong to the tribe but are being held in trust by the government. Some of the money may be from the proceeds of a 1971 land settlement of about forty-seven cents per acre, which had been pending for sixty or seventy years. Thus a young Indian who obtains partial support from government funds is quite comparable to the son of a well-to-do family, part of whose income is derived from landholding of his father or his forefathers.

The Indians' innate initiative and ambition are too often stifled by the rigid work rules and regulations on the reservations. For example, if a young man wishes to do more productive work than herding goats and carrying water for long distances for individual and family use, then he may have to leave his home on the reservation to seek work elsewhere, because jobs are not available nearby. If he seeks work in an urban area, he is not likely to have more than physical strength and agility to offer a potential employer, since he probably has little formal education or vocational or technical training.

According to 1968 statistics, the average Indian completes about five years of schooling, compared with 11.2 years for other Americans. Furthermore, the problem concerns the quality of education as well as the amount, for the longer an Indian child stays in a conventional Indian school, the farther behind is his achievement in comparison with white children.[1]

An Indian who leaves the reservation and is fortunate enough to find work upon his arrival in the city will probably land in a dead-end job. Then he discovers that his training has not prepared him adequately to handle the job's daily routines and the living problems involved.

The Indian aspires to reach a level of comfort comparable to that of other people. He has not attained this aspiration, but that does not mean that he lacks ability and ambition. His nonattainment is not due to neglect of opportunities but rather to lack of them. In many instances opportunities for the Indian are controlled and kept out of reach by complex governmental structures and paternalistic attitudes.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, created by acts of Congress and supported by subsequent legislative and judicial actions, has the obligation to assist the Indian groups who fall under its jurisdiction. The Bureau's primary functions are (1) holding in trust Indian lands and money, (2) helping to establish and maintain economic projects, (3) helping to develop self-sufficiency, (4) acting as an intermediary or referral source, (5) assisting Indian people with other governmental agencies—state and Federal, and (6) providing education, social, and health services.

Basically, the Bureau's aims in carrying out these functions are to provide a higher standard of living for Indian people, develop Indian's responsibility for managing their own funds and other resources, and promote their political and social integration.

The following statistics are based upon the Bureau's operations during 1968:

- The Bureau had an operating budget of $241 million. It employed about 16,000 persons, slightly more than half of them Indians.
- The Bureau held in trust 50 million acres of land for Indians, with an agricultural return of approximately $170 million or less than $3.50 per acre.
- About ninety percent of the Indians on reservations were living in tin-roofed shacks, huts, brush shelters, or adobe huts—a few even in abandoned automobiles. A large percentage of these Indians still

1. See Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization As Shown by the Indians of North America, from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1968).

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were hauling their drinking water more than a mile.

- Indian unemployment ranged between forty and seventy-five percent in comparison with about four percent for the nation as a whole.
- The average weekly income for an Indian family was about $30.00 versus about $130.00 for a comparable non-Indian family.
- The average life expectancy for an Indian was about 43 years; the percentage of deaths from infectious diseases was many times greater than the national average.[2]

Many programs designed by the Bureau for the good of the American Indian are made less effective by the maze of red tape and bureaucracy that plague this agency. Few Indian persons hold high administrative positions in the Bureau, probably less than 20. The programs are primarily administered by persons of the white middleclass majority, some of whom accept as fact the myth that Indians do not want to work. Seemingly, they assume that Indians do not want to take a part in the program or lack the necessary ability. They thus preclude the Indians' active participation in the program's plans and operation and hinder his progress.

Experiencing such exclusion over a period of time generates in the Indians a "what's the use?" attitude and feelings of apathy, helplessness, and hopelessness. They ignore the programs. Then the program planners say "Indians won't work." The usual consequences of this perverse situation are that the young Indian, who for cultural reasons does not compete too well with non-Indians, starts believing that he is a failure in present-day America. So he withdraws into himself. His withdrawal creates a high degree of frustration, bewilderment, envy, and hostility. This helps to explain the extraordinarily high rate of suicide among Indian youths ten times higher than the national average for non-Indians. Such withdrawal is also at the root of many other problems that are usually grouped under the term, "the plight of the Indian."

Indian Land

Another myth in the folklore surrounding the Indian is the belief held by some people that Indians want to regain possession of the land they roamed over freely before the first white settlers came to this country. A few Indians today may claim that the land should be returned to them. The struggle of the overwhelming majority is not regaining the land their forefathers enjoyed, but retaining the land that belongs to them by right of possession, title, and treaty. Most Indian dealings with the Federal government about land involve hoping, praying, begging, or pressuring the authorities to honor at least the essence of treaties made years ago and trying to prevent a complete sellout of the remaining Indian lands to private interests.

Loss of present rights and properties would probably mean the annihilation of this country's Indians as a race. The wording of the treaties is clear and unequivocal in English as well as in the language of the specific tribes concerned. For example, the treaty with Indians of the Northwest regarding fishing rights to the Indians "for as long as the rivers shall flow." The rivers are still flowing in the Northwest, and the Indians are still struggling with the state of Washington about the state's violation of the treaty's terms, even on the Indians' property.

There is a well-known saying, "Possession is nine-tenths of the law." The natives of Alaska might well question its validity. They possessed their land long before white men set foot upon this continent. Recently, however, oil was discovered there. What happened? The land suddenly became the property of the state of Alaska, to be leased or sold to private interests. Only a residue of the handsome profits trickled down to the natives, many of whom had to be relocated. One reason given for taking over the land was that the natives did not hold title to it. This was legally, but not morally, true. The crucial question is: Who gave the state of Alaska the legal title to the land?

Adjustment to City Life

In becoming oriented to the present, many Indians daily face a major problem: adjustment to city life. Statistics show that one-half of the nations' Indians now live in urban areas.[3]

Unlike many other Americans who are drawn to the cities by exciting opportunities, most American Indians move to urban centers only because they are desperate. Instead of going to something, they are leaving something. They go to find work because there is nothing for them back home. They do not like the crowds, the heavy traffic, or the constant pressure of city life. Most of them would return home to the reservation if stable employment were available to them there.

Most people who move to American cities have the drive to get ahead and have accepted other prevalent values of the contemporary industrial society. Therefore, urban adjustment is not so traumatic for them. But Indians do not esteem highly the intensive kind of competition and aggression around which the American society has developed. Traditionally, Indians do not place great value on aggressive and competitive behavior; instead, they favor economic equal-

2. See Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Answers to Your Questions about American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, May, 1963), and Fact. sp. cit.

3. This data was supplied by the American Indian Information Center, New York City.

ity and a fair sharing of material goods. They tend to be reticent about speaking up and demanding their rights. Thus they are not likely to exert the effort necessary to obtain agency support in time of need. Professional personnel who are administering programs for them may think that their reticence and social reserve indicate they do not intend to cooperate or are unwilling to do so.

Extended Family

Indians' strong family ties and feelings give total support and allegiance to the extended family group. They solve their problems within this group, which has its own vast maze of possible resources. When they move to a modern city and live in a small nuclear family, trying to be self-sufficient among other similar families, most Indians are completely lost. In the city they seldom have a host of relatives to rely on, and they are unwilling to go through the complicated formalities involved in asking a stranger for assistance or enduring the humiliation such action would mean to them. Indians' mystical view of being at one with the universe often leads them to accept unquestionably the position in which they find themselves. They therefore may ask little of the agencies designed to serve them. They have tended to make better use of agency facilities when there has been a single multipurpose office in which someone they knew handled almost all their problems for them.

The differences in approaches by Indians and non-Indians have led to a rapid development of Indian centers in most major cities of the United States in which Indians have been relocating. Indians and non-Indians alike have felt that a consistent effort must be made to interpret each to the other, to build a bridge of appreciation and understanding between the two groups. The aim would be to enable Indians and non-Indians to share valid insights and special abilities that would enrich the lives of both.

From several years experience in working with Indians, the St. Augustine Indian Center in Chicago assembled a list of specific attitudes and practices of Indian people that have persisted in an urban environment. Experience of other urban centers for Indians confirms the findings in Chicago. The list includes the following:

- Generosity is still the paramount virtue among most Indians. Accumulation of wealth is not a major motivating factor. An Indian cares more about being able to work at a satisfying occupation and earn enough extra to share with relatives and friends than about putting money in the bank and purchasing a home in the city.
- Many Indians continue to hold the old concepts of time. For them, time is circular rather than horizontal. Past, present, and future are all one. Living and working by the clock, as the white man does, are not considered important.
- For most Indians work must be more than a steady job. It must be a vocation providing inner satisfaction as well as an income.
- Family and interpersonal relationships have priority over all else. An Indian's first responsibility is to relatives, wherever they may be.
- The extended family system continues to operate in many tribes, thus providing an enlarged sphere of family relationships as well as family responsibilities. Keeping both tribal and Indian identification continues to be important for the majority of first Americans.
- Many Indians are basically noncompetitive in their relationships to non-Indians. However, they continue to be intensely competitive with each other.

Indians in Baltimore

Experience at the American Indian Study Center in Baltimore confirms the findings in Chicago. Those planning and setting up the program there found that organization was a key factor.

The concept of the Baltimore Center originated with a group of parents whose children were attending a Head Start program. These parents realized that nowhere in the school system were any subjects dealing with the American Indians taught from an ethnocentric view. A meeting of interested parents and recognized community leaders was called, plans were formulated, and a schedule developed that would test community interest in an Indian study program. The responses indicated enthusiasm for the beginning of a center. With the start of the study program, other needs became evident. It was found that Indians who had not previously gone to public agencies for assistance were coming to the center for many types of help. Therefore, with much community input in planning, the program was expanded so that full time assistance was available.

Indians began migrating to Baltimore in the early 1940's, primarily from the Lumbee tribe of Robeson County in North Carolina. However, the influx has been greater in numbers in the past ten to fifteen years than ever before. The City's Indian population is still increasing. The Lumbees are the largest tribal group, but there are families and individuals descended from other tribes who live in the Greater Baltimore metropolitan area.

Most of these Indians were originally hard-working tenant farmers from a racially segregated area. They are clannish and tend to cluster together for protection, security, and social activities. This clannishness—a trait they have brought to the city—has led to the development of the southeast section of Balti-

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more as an Indian settlement. In the main, these Indians have come from large families with a background of social, economic, educational, and cultural deprivation as well as a lack of other life experiences that most non-Indians consider to be societal norms.

Baltimore Indians have had a strict upbringing, with strong emphasis on religious beliefs, self-denial, and discipline. They come to the city totally unready to cope with even the everyday routines of living in a congested metropolitan center, much less to handle family crises adequately.

These Indians have suffered a severe loss of self-identity and have become confused about personal values and goals. As a result of their unpreparedness for exposure to different ways of living and their headlong projection into a competitive situation with non-Indians, most of them become skeptical of any contacts outside their own circle of family and friends. They are reluctant to become involved with governmental institutions and agencies and refuse to make use of established public services administered by non-Indians. The Indian who once considered himself equal to all in his own old community now feels inferior to the strangers around him. He becomes alienated; he withdraws into himself as a defensive device, with resulting anomie.

The average adult in the Baltimore settlement is uneducated and has no motivation to educate his children. Those administrators responsible for curriculum planning and policy making in Baltimore's public school system have not acted to ameliorate these conditions. Indian history, arts, crafts, and culture have not been included in the schools' curricula. Nor have any adaptations been made in recognition of the special needs of American-Indian children. Current conventional history of the United States is taught in the schools, presenting the Indian in a most unfavorable light. This adds to the Indian child's frustration and produces in him feelings of shame and embarrassment about his race. The outcome too often is low achievement, and many drop out of school at an early age. What the Indian child learns among his peers in the classroom about "his people" conflicts with his image of himself as an Indian.

Unemployment among the Baltimore Indians was about twenty-five percent in 1971, far higher than the city average of seven percent. The Indian population is young, with about seventy percent of the people under forty years old.

The Indian people in this city perhaps need most of all to be able to transcend the traditional unresisting acceptance of the status quo, expressed resignedly as "That's the way things are." They need to put their energies and talents into action to bring about change in their own behalf. Owing to sheer numbers, Baltimore Indians could have some voice in the development of the socio-economic and political environment of the community in which they live.

Conditions among Indians in other cities basically echo those in Baltimore, nor do statistics on urban Indians differ drastically from the national averages of comparable statistics of reservation Indians. On the reservations also the people's spirits are characterized by anomie and alienation. There, too, one hears the Indian say, "So what? The white man's rule will win."

Study Center

Out of the knowledge and recognition of the needs of the city's Indian people grew the Baltimore American Indian Study Center. It was established to assist the Indian community collectively and individually to overcome their social handicaps, which were partly related to urban living. The center's staff also work to develop greater political influence and economic self-sufficiency within the community and to further the Indians' drive toward self-determination.

Stated more specifically, the center's goals are as follows:

- Establish and maintain an urban community center where Indian people, who traditionally have not used public services because of cultural factors, can obtain constructive suggestions regarding their next move and can ease their adjustment to urban living.
- Make competent staff help available to counsel neighborhood residents in all problem areas, give them advice and direction, and refer them to community agencies that provide needed resources.
- Stimulate social change through specific programs and direct action.
- Stimulate the Indian community to act in its own behalf.
- Identify community needs through research, then formulate projects and programs to meet those needs.
- Promote understanding and harmony between the Indian and non-Indian communities through exchange activities, so that the various ethnic groups may work together and have greater power in the councilmanic and legislative districts.
- Maintain programs that focus on reestablishing Indian self-identity and restoring the confidence of the Indian people so that they have the will and the stamina for positive sustained action.

Conclusion

Programs like this in all the major urban centers where there are significant numbers of Indians offer one means of refuting and counteracting the prevalent Indian myths that unfortunately are still being passed along from one person to another and through

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such media as television and the movies to many persons. It is a gross error to believe that all unfairness toward the Indian and all mistreatment of these first Americans is a thing of the past. Such unfairness and mistreatment are still happening right now as the examples cited regarding treaty violations and land seizure indicate, and it seems quite possible that inequitable and oppressive treatment will continue as long as racism prevails.

The author believes that the pattern can be altered, that there are alternatives to continued prejudice and misunderstanding. He proposes that the following steps be taken to further the efforts of organizations such as the American Indian Study Center to promote harmony and friendship: (1) design programs for urban Indians that offer them the opportunity and stimulate their motivation to share in the control of their destiny which every man, woman and child has the right to do at least in a collective sense, through community action and (2) provide equal treatment where equality does not now exist, initiating programs to bring fairness and justice in education, work opportunities, housing, and other aspects of living to those who do not now have them.

Fairness and justice are not only the right of those who now have unequal treatment and opportunity; seeing that unfairness and mistreatment do not exist is the responsibility of those who receive more favored treatment and have better opportunities. It has been said many times, but it is worth repeating, that as long as any of us is in bondage, none of us is free.

The Inquiry Process / Practical Considerations

. . . This new role is a hard one for the traditional teacher to accept but it is one which must be accepted if the teacher expects to be successful with inquiry activities.

Teachers feel rather insecure in this new role because they need to teach in a way different from that in which they themselves were taught. Most teachers are trained in molds which do not require a large amount of research skills or critical thinking. . . .

Edward L. Biller

Some of you may remember the criticism that was leveled at the public schools during the late 1950's. The Soviet Union had launched the first earth satellite, *Sputnik I*, beating the United States to the punch. A portion of the public wanted to know how such a technological defeat could happen to a nation whose resources of materials and people were supposed to surpass those of any other nation on earth. Critics focused their attention on the public schools of the nation and stated that the schools were just not doing the job; they were not teaching whatever should be taught to youngsters.

Indeed there was validity in what the critics said. Scholars, perhaps for the first time, and educators began to examine and reexamine the schools. They found much that needed to be changed especially in the area of curriculum and that of methodology. Curricula were relatively inflexible, antiquated, and very narrow. By and large, curriculum did not reflect the progress that had been made in research in the very academic disciplines upon which the curriculum was based. Methodology was largely authoritarian, unimaginative, and expository. The teacher was the "fountainhead of knowledge" who poured forth "pearls of wisdom" upon a student audience who was expected to soak up and store for future use all the

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facts and ideas presented by the teacher. Examination found that most of the "pearls of wisdom" were misshapened and discolored. The entire system operated much like the mythological Greek god Procrustes. Procrustes had a bed. Whenever he had visitors, he forced them to get into his bed. If the visitor was too short for the bed, he was stretched until he matched exactly the size of the bed. If the visitor was too long for the bed, Procrustes took a huge knife and cut off the excess so that the visitor would fit the bed. It was the rare visitor who fit the bed exactly. Students in the public schools, like the bed of Procrustes, were made to fit the mold. Many were stretched or cut off. Some—indeed, too many—did not survive the ordeal either physically, emotionally, or intellectually.

After the reexamination of the schools, changes began to occur. You will recall that during the late fifties and into the early sixties, we saw the advent of the "new" math, the "new" science, and the "new" modern foreign language. Schools were retooled, teachers were retrained or as some said "retreaded," instructional materials took on new designs, and curriculum was changed. I can recall that during some of this time when I was principal of Roland Park Junior High School, the elementary teachers and many of the junior high school teachers there were busily engaged in workshops, summer institutes, and training sessions to learn how to teach the "new" math or the "new" science. Parents were concerned because the "new" subjects were not like the ones they had studied while in school. Yes, there were basic changes in these subjects. National and regional groups of scholars, educators, and teachers molded the new curricula, tested them, and refined them. Large amounts of government money through N.D.E.A., as well as large amounts of foundation monies, were poured into these new programs.

The social sciences which form the basis of the social studies also felt the impact of change. In each social science a group was formed, sometimes more than one group, who began to restructure the curriculum in their particular area of interest. Geography, psychology, anthropology, and others had representative groups. The new social studies began to flow forth.

Interestingly enough, all the new curricula whether in science, math, or social studies was based largely on the same kind of rationale. The rationale went something like this: Knowledge is expanding at such a rapidly accelerating pace that it is practically impossible to keep up with it. Even specialists have a difficult time keeping abreast of their field. It is impossible to teach students all the things that are known because this knowledge is expanding and changing so quickly. Then too, one of the main purposes of education is to have students solve problems. How in the world can we do this if we don't know what problems will be faced five, ten, or fifty years from now? Nor do we know what knowledge will be necessary to solve these problems. Perhaps the knowledge does not as yet exist. It might be a better idea to shift education's aims from trying to teach a body of knowledge to teaching the methodology of how knowledge is created in the first place. This is the basic idea on which the new approaches to science, math, and the social studies is grounded. Just what does this mean? It means that the primary aim is shifted from learning a prescribed body of knowledge whether it be facts, generalizations, or concepts to developing and learning to use the skills and methods which enable one to find his own facts, make his own generalizations, and develop his own concepts in a structured scientific method. Let us take a relatively simple example to see how this operates. So that the example is clear-cut, I have chosen it from the field of mathematics. When you were in high school and studied geometry, you probably learned the following theorem: "When two parallel lines are intersected by a straight line, the alternate angles are equal." This was in the text along with elaborate proof that the theorem was true. The student had to memorize the theorem. In future practice, the student was given many examples in which knowledge of this theorem along with others was needed to solve the problems. This approach represents the "old" approach.

The "new" approach is practically opposite. The student is given many examples in which he is required to draw and/or measure angles. Through the instructor's guidance or on his own, he is led to "discover" that every time parallel lines are intersected by another straight line, the alternate angles are equal. He has discovered a "big idea," a universal truth, for himself.

These two approaches might be diagrammed like this.

NEW: Clue + Clue + Clue + Clue = Generalization
Principle
Concept
etc.

OLD: Generalization Example Example Example
Principle
Concept
etc.

In addition, the primary emphasis in the "new" is not on the clue or the knowledge but on the *process* of how the clues were discovered, added together, and run on to the final conclusions. This does not mean that the conclusions are unimportant! They are still important, but not to the extent they once were.

This process of discovery is activated by inquiring or looking into things. In intellectual matters it is characterized by a questioning attitude in one who

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sifts the results of his inquiry through a fine mesh of critical analysis. This is the theory of the inquiry method or inquiry approach: a questioning attitude leads the inquirer to seek clues, which he places under close critical scrutiny, and to arrive finally at some conclusion.

This inquiry method is not new. One need only examine the *Dialogues of Plato* to find that Socrates used a method of questioning now called the "Socratic Dialectic" to reach conclusions over 2,000 years ago. In more recent times, John Dewey was a strong proponent of the approach. In current literature, Jerome Brunner and Paginet are among its strongest supporters.

You might well be asking by this time what all of this theory has to do with the classroom teacher. Let us spend some time on this—those aspects of the theory which have strong implications for the teacher.

The first and most important is a change in the attitude of the teacher himself. No longer can the teacher's role be that of "fountainhead of knowledge" who knows all or who can find out all and who then in an expository way gives information to students expecting them to recall a goodly proportion of it on the biweekly test or quiz. Rather the role of the teacher becomes that of a mentor or guide, one who must devise and plan activities which lead students to inquire, critically analyze, and form conclusions. A teacher must play the same role as the coach of the Baltimore Colts does during the football season. He guides the practice sessions, he devises plays, he makes the game plan, but his team must play the game on Sunday afternoon. It is their effort which determines the outcome. Although the coach may have once been a fine player, his role now is one of guidance from the sideline.

This new role is a hard one for the traditional teacher to accept but it is one which must be accepted if the teacher expects to be successful with inquiry activities.

Teachers feel rather insecure in this new role because they need to teach in a way different from that in which they themselves were taught. Most teachers are trained in molds which do not require a large amount of research skills or critical thinking. Most are not completely familiar with the methodology inherent in their own discipline. Traditionally, this methodology is reserved for the graduate student, especially the doctoral candidate in the discipline. This methodology, however, forms the pattern for many inquiry techniques. It is really nothing more than the scientific method applied in various subjects. Let us take a look at the methodology a historian uses to create history. Other disciplines use methodology that differs somewhat depending on the nature of the subject under investigation. All are acceptable models for inquiry.

Inquiry Skills

I. Selecting the historical problem
   A. May be an event (What happened? Why? So what?)
   B. May be a situation or condition (a series of related events).
      What is the situation? How did it get that way? What are its effects?
   C. May be an issue (a situation or condition where there are at least two distinct opposing views and frequently these views are controversial). What are the various points of view? Why do they exist? What are the effects of this issue?

II. Forming a hypothesis
   In our work, the hypothesis will be treated as a trial "explainer" of the problem after only a little evidence has been examined.

III. Gathering evidence
   A. Primary sources—variety of types and the value of each
   B. Secondary sources—variety of types and the value of each

IV. Analyzing the evidence
   A. Problems with evidence
      1. Disagreement of the primary sources
      2. Weakness of eyewitness accounts
      3. Detecting bias
      4. Distinguishing fact from opinion
      5. Internal consistency
      6. External consistency
   B. Frame of reference
   C. Rules of logic
   D. Awareness of personal bias and values

V. Synthesizing materials
   A. Drawing conclusions
   B. Acceptance, amendment, or rejection of the hypothesis
   C. Stating conclusions in some acceptable form of communication

Inherent in the inquiry method is the use of source materials of some nature. This is a second source of teacher insecurity because most instructional materials now in the schools do not contain much in the line of source materials. The teacher must scrounge to find it. Then too, much of the source material is relatively difficult when it is written in archaic, stilted, or legal language or contains a combination of all three. How can students possibly read it, much less critically analyze it? Then there are other problems. Once found, how can the material be reproduced for class use? Is it legal to do so? Where can I find so many supplies? And on, and on.

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As far as source material, let me make the following suggestions:

- More and more instructional materials are including primary source materials. Examine all new materials.
- Many source books are published in various areas and on various topics. Seek the help of a librarian and secure a number of these.
- Learn to rewrite and/or simplify primary source material. Use some of the techniques suggested in the Right-to-Read Program.
- All source materials are not documents. Consider:

photographs	world almanac	tables
pictures	newspapers	bulletins
census data	TV	tapes
atlases	charts	graphs

- Students studying certain topics can create their own source materials, such as the following:

observations	interviews	mapping
questionnaires	counting	classifying

Since the primary aim of the inquiry method is to develop inquiry skills in students, each teacher needs to plan for a systematic development of these skills. We already have a list of some of these skills but it is the level of sophistication which is quite important. One must start with simple expectations which do not include the expectation that students early in their experience have fully developed skills of critical analysis. One must plan to introduce activities which allow the student to build gradually toward this goal. At first, this may mean a large amount of teacher guidance and "leading by the hand" if you will. In all this, however, the teacher can still remain the prodder, the "gadfly" helping to create and maintain a questioning attitude rather than growing impatient and furnishing the student with answers. Let me reiterate that the skill program needs to be structured and well planned, in which a record is kept as you go rather than a haphazard hit or miss approach which is typical of much of our present teaching.

Sample Lessons

Now let us take a look at several lessons which illustrate a few of the different forms of inquiry. The first will be in more detail, hopefully to enable you to follow the steps rather closely. The rest, being merely descriptive, will serve to illustrate other forms inquiry might take.

John Tudor's Diary
(Based on "Deacon Tudor's Diary")

On Monday evening, March 5, a few minutes after nine o'clock, a horrid murder was committed on King Street by eight or nine British soldiers under the command of Captain Thomas Preston.

The incident began when some boys threw snowballs at a British sentry at the custom house door. Eight or nine soldiers came to his assistance. Soon after, a crowd gathered. The captain commanded the soldiers to fire on the crowd, which they did. Three men were killed on the spot and several mortally wounded.

If the captain had not withdrawn his soldiers, the consequences might have been terrible. For, on hearing the gunfire, the people became alarmed and rang the bells as if there were a fire. This drew a huge mob to the scene.

Governor Thomas Hutchinson (*British Governor of Massachusetts*) was summoned, and he came at once to the Council chamber. At about ten o'clock, the Governor asked the people to go home peaceably. He said he would do everything in his power to see that justice was done.

The people insisted that, before they leave, the soldiers should be ordered to their barracks. After this was done the people left about one o'clock.

Captain Preston was arrested and appeared before Justice Dania and myself about two o'clock. Later, the eight soldiers who fired on the inhabitants were also arrested and sent to jail.

On Tuesday morning, March 6, a number of townspeople got together. After hearing some speeches, they chose a committee of fifteen to ask Governor Hutchinson to request immediate removal of the troops.

The Governor's reply was that he was extremely sorry over the unhappy incident of the last evening. But he said it was not in his power to remove troops.

That afternoon, between 3,000 and 4,000 townspeople gathered at the meeting house, which was not large enough to hold them all. They chose a committee to call on Governor Hutchinson to request the immediate removal of the troops from Boston.

Governor Hutchinson told Colonel Dalrymple, commanding officer of the British forces, what the Council had decided, and asked that the Colonel order the troops to leave the town. The Colonel gave his word of honor that both regiments would be removed without delay.

The committee returned to the town meeting, where John Hancock, the committee chairman, reported what had taken place. His report was greeted with shouts and claps of hands which made the meeting house ring.

On March 8, the bodies of the unhappy victims who fell in the bloody massacre were buried. On this sorrowful occasion, most shops and stores in town were closed. All the bells were ordered to toll a solemn peal in Boston, Charleston, Cambridge, and Roxbury.

Several hearses met in King Street, where the massacre had taken place. The funeral procession went from there through the main street, lengthened by a huge crowd of people. There were so many that they had to walk in ranks of four and six abreast. Behind them came a long train of carriages.

The sorrow visible in the faces of the crowd surpasses description. It was estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 spectators took part in the funeral procession.

Note: Captain Preston was tried for his life on October 24, 1770. The trial lasted five days, but the jury found him not guilty.

Report of the Committee of the Town of Boston

It appears by a variety of depositions that on the same evening between the hours of six and half after nine (at which time the firing began), many persons, without the least provocation, were in various parts of the town insulted and abused by parties of armed soldiers patrolling the streets; particularly: Samuel Drowne declare that, about nine o'clock of the evening of the fifth of March current, standing at his own door in Cornhill, he saw about fourteen or fifteen soldiers of the

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29th regiment, who came from Murray's barracks, armed with naked cutlasses, swords, etc., and came upon the inhabitants of the town, then standing or walking in Cornhill, and abused some, and violently assaulted others as they met them; most of whom were without so much as a stick in their hand to defend themselves, as he very clearly could discern it being moonlight, and himself being one of the assaulted persons. All or most of the said soldiers he saw go into King Street (some of them through Royal Exchange Lane), and there followed them, and soon discovered them to be quarrelling and fighting with the people whom they saw there, which he thinks were not more than a dozen, when the soldiers came first, armed as aforesaid.

These assailants after attacking and wounding divers persons in Cornhill, proceeded (most of them) up the Royal Exchange Lane into King Street; where, making a short stop, and after assaulting and driving away the few they met there, they brandished their arms and cried out:

"Where are the boogers! Where are the cowards!"

The outrageous behavior and the threats of the said party occasioned the ringing of the meeting house bell near the head of King Street, which bell ringing quick, as for fire, it presently brought out a number of the inhabitants, who being soon sensible of the occasion of it, were naturally led to King Street, where the said party had made a stop but a little while before, and where the stopping had drawn together a number of boys, round the sentry at the custom house. Whether the boys mistook the sentry for one of the said party, and thence took occasion to differ with him, or whether he first affronted them which is affirmed in several depositions; however that may be, there was much foul language between them, and some of them in consequence of his pushing at them with his bayonet, threw snowballs at him[1] which occasioned him to knock hastily at the door of the custom house. The officer on guard was Captain Preston, who with seven or eight soldiers, with firearms and charged bayonets, issued from the guard-house, and in great haste posted himself and his soldiers in front of the custom house. In passing to this station the soldiers pushed several persons with their bayonets, driving through the people in so rough a manner that it appeared they intended to create a disturbance. This occasioned some snowballs to be thrown at them, which seems to have been the only provocation that was given.

Mr. Knox[2] (between whom and Captain Preston there was some conversation on the spot) declared, that while he was talking with Captain Preston, the soldiers of his detachment had attacked the people with their bayonets; and that there was not the least provocation given to Captain Preston or his party; the backs of the people being toward them when the people were attacked. He also declares that Captain Preston seemed to be in great haste and much agitated, and that, according to his opinion, there were not then present in King Street above seventy or eighty persons at the extent.

The said party was formed into a half circle; and within a short time after they had been posted at the custom house, began to fire upon the people. Captain Preston is said to have ordered them to fire, and to have repeated that order. One gun was fired first, then others in succession, and with deliberation, till ten or a dozen guns were fired; or till that number of discharges were made from the guns that were fired. But which means eleven persons were killed and wounded. These facts, with divers circumstances attending them, are supported by the depositions of a considerable number of persons.

Soon after the firing, a party from the main guard went with a drum to Murray's and the other barracks, beating an alarm as they went, which with the firing, had the effect of a signal for action. Whereupon all the soldiers of the 20th regiment, or the main body of them, appeared in King Street under arms, and seemed bent on a further massacre of the inhabitants, which was with great difficulty prevented. They were drawn up between the State house and main guard, their lines extending across the street and facing down King Street, where the townspeople were assembled. The first line kneeled, and the whole of the first platoon presented their guns ready to fire, as soon as the word should be given. They continued in that posture a considerable time; but by the good providence of God they were restrained from firing.

Testimony

Q. (Lawyer's question.) "Was anything thrown at the soldiers?"
A. (Witness's answer.) "Yes, there were many things thrown; what they were I cannot say."

Q. "How did the soldiers stand?"
A. "They stood with their pieces before them to defend themselves, and as soon as they had placed themselves, a party, about twelve in number, with sticks in their hands, who stood in the middle of the street, gave three cheers, and immediately surrounded the soldiers, and struck upon their guns with their sticks, and passed along the front of the soldiers, towards Royal Exchange Lane, striking the soldiers' guns as they passed; numbers were continually coming down the street."

Q. "Did you hear any bell ring?"
A. "Yes."

Q. "What bell?"
A. "I believe all the bells in town were ringing. I heard the Old South first."

Q. "Did the clattering of blows on the guns to the right, immediately before the first gun went off, appear very violent?"
A. "Yes, very violent."

An Account. Adapted from *Legal Papers of John Adams*, Volume 3, pages 246, 252, 267-269.

You must place yourselves in the situation of the British soldiers. Consider yourselves knowing that the prejudices of the world about you were against you; that the people about you thought you came to force them to obey laws and instructions which they hated . . . that the soldiers had no friends around them, all were against them. . . . Consider the people crying, "Kill them! Kill them! Knock them over!" and heaving snowballs, oyster shells, and clubs.

. . . Consider yourselves in this situation and then judge whether a reasonable man, in the soldiers' situation, would not have concluded they were going to kill him.

. . . It is necessary to consider what is a riot. I shall give you the definition of it. "Wheresoever more than three persons use force or violence for the accomplishment of any design whatever, all concerned are rioters."

Were there not more than three persons in Dock Square? Did they not agree to go to King Street, and attack the Main Guard? Where then, is the reason for hesitation in calling it a riot? If we cannot speak the law as it is, where is our liberty? And this is law, that wherever more than three persons are gathered together to accomplish anything with force, it is a riot. . . .

The next witness that knows anything was James Bailey. . .

1. Several subsequent depositions supported the view that the sentry, in a quarrel with two barber's apprentices, struck one on the head with his musket, yelling, "Damn your blood, if you do not get out of the way, I will give you something," and then pushed the lads away at bayonet point.
2. Then a bookseller, later a Revolutionary officer, and still later, Secretary of War under the Confederation and in Washington's cabinet.

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He saw some round the Sentry, heaving pieces of ice, large and hard enough to hurt any man, as big as your fist. One question is whether the Sentinel was attacked or not. If you want evidence of an attack upon him there is enough of it. Here is a witness, a citizen of the town, surely no friend to the soldiers. . . . He says he saw twenty or thirty round the Sentry, throwing cakes of ice, as big as one's fist; certainly cakes of ice of this size may kill a man, if they happen to hit some part of the head. So that, here was an attack on the Sentinel, the result of which he had reason to fear, and it was wise in him to call for the Main Guard. He retreated as far as he could. He attempted to get into the custom house, but could not. Then he called to the Guard, and he had a good right to call for their help. . . .

Bailey swears Montgomery, a British soldier, fired the first gun. . . . This witness certainly is not prejudiced in favor of the soldiers. He swears he saw a man come up to Montgomery with a club and knock him down before he fired, and that he not only fell himself, but his gun flew out of his hand, and as soon as he rose he took it up and fired. If he was knocked down on his post, had he not reason to think his life in danger? . . .

When the crowd was shouting . . . and threatening life, the bells all ringing, the mob whistling and screaming . . . the people from all quarters throwing every kind of rubbish they could pick up on the street, and some . . . throwing clubs at the whole party, Montgomery hit with a club and knocked down . . . what could he do? Do you expect he should do nothing? . . .

Bailey "saw Attucks, the Mulatto, seven or eight minutes before the firing, at the head of twenty or thirty sailors . . . and he had a large cordwood stick." So that this Attucks . . . appears to have decided to be the hero of the night and to lead this army. . . . He formed them in the first place in Dock Square, and marched them up to King Street with their clubs. They passed through the main street up to the Main Guard, in order to make the attack. If this was not an unlawful assembly, there never was one in the world. Attucks with his marchers came round Jackson's corner, and down to the party by the sentry box. When the soldiers pushed the people off, this man with his party cried, "Do not be afraid of them. They dare not fire. Kill them! Kill them! Knock them over!" And he tried to knock their brains out.

It is plain the soldiers did not leave their post, but cried to the people, "Stand off." Now to have this band of men coming down on them under the command of a stout fellow—whose very looks were enough to terrify any persons—what had the soldiers not to fear? Attucks had hardiness enough to fall in upon them, and with one hand took hold of a bayonet and with the other knocked the man down. This was the behaviour of Attucks, to whose mad behaviour . . . the dreadful battle of that night should be blamed.

The problem is, "What happened in Boston on the evening of March 5, 1770?" The main objective of this lesson is to have students realize how difficult it is to piece together what really happened, to have some experience of handling primary source materials, and to practice some analytical and critical skills.

The first piece of evidence is John Tudor's Diary. After reading, the teacher's first step (and eventually the mature students' first step) is to pose questions which check on comprehension. Here some of the ideas you might have learned in the Right-to-Read Program will come in handy, particularly the level of questioning. You will recall three levels are proposed. (They are found on pages 12-14 in *Reading, A Total Commitment,* Baltimore City Public Schools, 1973.)

1. The Literal Level

At what time did the event occur?
How many soldiers were involved?
At what point in the action did the bells ring?
How many citizens were killed?

2. The Inferential or Interpretive Level

Why did John Tudor write a report?
Why do you think the timing of the ringing of the fire bell is important?

3. Critical Level

Is there any reason to believe that John Tudor's account might be somewhat biased?
If so, why do you think so?

The second piece of evidence is a committee report sent to the Massachusetts Governor telling what happened. The committee was chaired by John Hancock and the committee asked the Governor to do everything in his power to have the British soldiers removed from Boston.

Here the literal and interpretive questions are somewhat routine but the critical level becomes more interesting. Now comparisons can be made.

- Do the two documents agree on the time of the event? the ringing of the fire bell? the number killed? etc.
- Who was John Hancock? etc.

The third and fourth pieces of evidence follow the same types of patterns of analysis: sworn testimony, statements in court. Conflicts with different versions occur frequently. This is one way to make the analysis relevant. Find a current story in a newspaper that presents conflicting reports or opinions. Have students attempt to get to the truth. Students most likely will never get the true story, but they can do some thinking on two points: the difficulty of determining what happens; the types of evidence they would like to have in order to reconstruct the event with some assurance that their interpretation is reasonably correct.

I know the thought is going through your mind that this is pretty stiff going for students. Not the most difficult, because here students would structure their own questions and entire analysis as well as locate their own sources. In this instance, there was a great amount of teacher structure, teacher guidance, and teacher selection. Notice, however, that the teacher does not impose answers at the interpretive or critical levels. One may, though, straighten out matters of "fact" that occur at the comprehension level. But what about the student who cannot read these sources and who is not at the point where he can

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handle interpretive and critical analysis of this nature?

The cause is not lost but it takes a little more work. Look at the next several pages.

Unit 4 - Booklet One - DISCOVERING THE PAST

On the evening of March 5, 1770, British troops opened fire on a group of colonists in Boston. This incident was one of the first clashes leading to the Revolutionary War. But what really happened in Boston on that night? There was bitter feeling between the citizens and the British troops that occupied the city. Did the soldiers deliberately open fire on a peaceful gathering of people or were the soldiers, fearing for their own safety, provoked into firing into an unruly mob?

The first evidence to examine is the diary of John Tudor. John Tudor was a justice of the peace and a leading citizen of Boston. He kept a daily record of events as he experienced them.

> On Monday evening, March 5, a few minutes after nine o'clock a horrid murder was committed on King Street by eight or nine British soldiers under the command of Captain Thomas Preston.
>
> The incident began when some boys threw snowballs at the British guard at the custom house door. Eight or nine soldiers came to his aid. Soon after, a crowd gathered. The captain commanded the soldiers to fire on the crowd, which they did. Three men were killed on the spot and several mortally wounded.

Based on: *Deacon Tudor's Diary*. (No other information but a longer selection appeared in *The American Revolution*, Civic Education Service, Inc., 1966.)

1. According to John Tudor, which of the following was true about the incident?

- It occurred on King Street a few minutes after nine o'clock.
- Eight or nine soldiers participated.
- The crowd threw snowballs at the soldiers.
- Captain Preston ordered the soldiers to fire.
- The crowd attacked the soldiers.
- Three men were killed and several others seriously wounded.

2. In using John Tudor's account of the incident, the most important things to keep in mind are

- He was an eyewitness.
- He was a justice of the peace.
- He was a church officer.
- He was a citizen of Boston.
- He kept a diary.

The people of Boston formed a committee headed by John Hancock who investigated the incident and wrote a report asking the Governor to withdraw the British troops from Boston. A part of the report is given below.

> It appears by the statements of a number of witnesses that on the evening of March 5, 1770, between the hours of six and nine-thirty when the firing began, many persons without any reason were insulted and abused by parties of armed soldiers patrolling the streets. Samuel Drowne says that he was standing in his doorway a little after nine and saw fourteen or fifteen soldiers of the 29th Regiment, armed with swords and cutlasses, confront citizens of the town. They abused some and assaulted others as they met them. The citizens were without so much as a stick in their hands to defend themselves. All or almost all of these soldiers headed into King Street.
>
> The threats and outrageous behavior of the party of soldiers caused someone to ring the meeting house bell near the head of King Street. Since this bell is a signal for fire, it quickly brought together a number of inhabitants. . . . The activity of the party of soldiers had also attracted a number of boys around the guard at the custom house. Whether the boys thought the guard was a member of the party of soldiers or whether the guard first challenged them is not clear, but there was foul language exchanged between them. Some of them, when he shoved his bayonet toward them, threw snowballs at him. This caused him to knock quickly at the custom house door.
>
> The officer in charge was Captain Preston, who with seven or eight soldiers with their rifles and fixed bayonets came from the guard house and took up a position in front of the custom house. They treated the crowd in a rough manner as they passed through it. It seemed they wanted to create a disturbance. This incident caused some snowballs to be thrown at them. . . .
>
> Mr. Knox swears that the soldiers attacked the people with their bayonets. The backs of the people were toward the soldiers when they were attacked. Altogether, there were only seventy or eighty people involved. . . .
>
> The soldiers were formed into a half circle and began to fire upon the people. Captain Preston is said to have ordered them to fire and to have repeated that order. One gun was fired first, then others. Eleven persons were killed and wounded.

Based on: *A Report of the Committee of the Town of Boston and A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston*, first published along with *The Trial of the Soldiers* in 1770 and reprinted in Frederick Kidder, *History of the Boston Massacre*, (Albany, N.Y., 1870) as quoted in Richard B. Morris, *The American Revolution*, Van Nostrand.

3. According to the evidence gathered by John Hancock's committee, which of the following statements are true?

- A party of soldiers were harassing the townspeople.
- The soldiers were drunk.
- Some people carried sticks and clubs for protection.
- Boys started to throw snowballs at a guard when he threatened them with his bayonet.
- Someone rang the fire alarm.
- A crowd of several hundred people gathered.
- The guard went for assistance.
- Captain Preston, with seven or eight armed soldiers, came to his assistance.
- For no reason, the crowd threw snowballs at the soldiers.
- Captain Preston ordered the troops to fire.
- The soldiers bayonetted people in the back.
- Eleven people were killed or wounded.

4. The committee report and the diary entry of John Tudor agree on which of the following points?

- The time of the event.
- The number of soldiers involved.
- The number of citizens involved.
- The giving of a command.
- The results of the gunfire.

As a result of the incident, Captain Preston and eight soldiers were arrested and brought to trial. John Adams, a young attorney, a patriot, later to become President of the United States, defended the soldiers. The excerpt below is part of his defense summary to the jury.

This material removed to conform with copyright laws.

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Based on the *Legal Papers of John Adams*, Vol. 3, pp. 246, 252, 267-69, edited by L. Kinvin Wroth and Hiller B. Zobel, copyright 1965 by Massachusetts Historical Society. The Belknap Press of the Howard University Press.

5. John Adams argued that the testimony of the witnesses at the trial proved which of the following:

- The soldiers had no reason to fire into the crowd.
- The soldiers fired because they feared for their lives.
- The soldiers were attacked first.
- The people were afraid of the soldiers.
- The soldiers were ordered to fire into the crowd.
- The incident seemed to have been planned by the citizens.

6. If you were a member of the jury at the trial and had only the evidence that is presented in the three excerpts above, you would find the soldiers

- Guilty of murder.
- Not guilty.
- Guilty of manslaughter.
- Justifiable homicide (killing).
- Not able to reach a verdict.

7. When various primary sources disagree on the evidence, you must decide which source can be most trusted. Explain how each of the following ideas might help you make that judgment.

- Is the source prejudiced toward one point of view?
- Does information about important details remain the same throughout the source?
- Is information in the source supported by other primary sources known to be reliable?
- Do sources agree on details like times, places, and numbers?
- What circumstances or conditions existed when information was given?
- Were there hidden reasons that might cause a source not to want to tell the exact truth?
- Does the source have a good or bad reputation for telling the truth?

These points are noted:

- there are some expository materials
- the problem is stated
- the hypotheses are stated
- the source material has been rewritten
  - shortened
  - less difficult reading
- comprehension checks are guided
- critical analyses are guided

After much work on this level, students should progress gradually to a more sophisticated approach.

The lesson on the 1770 event in Boston is only one type of inquiry. There are many others. We shall examine briefly, examples of several others. All of these have been taken from actual lessons.

An elementary teacher using one of the Concepts and Values books used the following activity with her class.

Indians, the first Americans, could not vote in all the states until 1948. Most Indians still live on reservations. Most of them are very poor, unhealthy, and unable to find work. Can you guess why Indians have been called Vanishing Americans?

1. In what ways are the problems of American Indians like those of Black Americans? How are they unlike? (comparisons)
2. What effects, good and bad, could living apart on a reservation have on members of a subculture? on other members of the culture? (supposition)
3. Besides legal rights, what else do people in a democracy need in order to feel equal with others? (speculation)

Notice how these questions extend thought beyond the pages of a text. This is a type of Socratic dialogue, the asking of searching questions, which is inquiry. Students who begin to think in these patterns will find the more disciplined thought patterns at a later level come rather naturally.

The next example is one in which students create their own primary source material.

The Problem: Sequence of land use at Charles and 25th Streets. Subproblem: What is there now? Method: Students in teams, visited and studied the area. They made maps of the area showing present land use. This activity involved:

- drawing of a base map
- deciding on various use classifications
- making and recording observations
- refining and reporting data

The final example is a different type of analysis, a spatial analysis, using statistical data from primary sources.

Observation: There is a significant difference county to county in Iowa in the auto accident rate. Problem: Why? Hypotheses:

1. The counties with a large number of people would probably

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have more accidents.
2. The counties with the greatest percentage of urban dwellers would probably have more accidents.
3. The counties where there is the most drinking would probably have higher rates.
4. The counties with the greatest percentage of older people would probably have the higher rates.

Research: Students used United States Census data and data from the Liquor Board of Iowa.
Results:

1. Yes
2. Yes
3. No
4. Amend

In each of these activities inquiry is involved. Remember that the gathering of information by inquiring students can take many forms. A primary source does not necessarily mean antique documents. One should try one's hand at limited inquiry activities at first until a sense of confidence is built. Only in this way can one really learn to teach by this method. Although talks, demonstrations and discussions may help, it is the actual doing where the true learning takes place.

In closing, let me add one word of advice. Although we are concentrating on the inquiry approach, we do not mean to convey the idea that all of the work of a student should be inquiry. All thought processes are not inductive. Inductive thought patterns are generally used to create knowledge. Deductive thought patterns are generally used to apply knowledge to specific situations. Both patterns are important! In the past, however, students have been exposed only to the expository deductive process. What we are striving for today is a better balance for students.

The Use of Community Resources in the Educational Program

. . . Administrators and teachers often do not possess the qualities which would enable them to reach parents. It is important that they exhibit humility, understanding, honesty, sensitivity to the feelings of others, and interest in others. . . .

Malcolm Johnson

The birth of Sputnik impacted upon the educational world. Experts in that world asked the question, "What are the Russians doing in their educational system that we are not?"

Russia has based its educational system upon the needs and desires of the total community. Under the present system, the Russian people may not have much voice in determining what is to be done, but the goals and objectives which have been established have taken into consideration the desires and needs of the communities in such a way as to ensure a high rate of performance by all. Realizing that the success of the Communist system depends upon the success of its people, Russian leaders have developed an educational system which is considered by many as one to be respected.

The Need for Educational Change

Following the birth of Sputnik, many nations took a new look at their educational institutions and have followed the direction of modern educational change. They have taken such steps as the following:
Redesigned the curriculum content
Increased the use of new media
Reorganized the school environment
Initiated the use of high speed information processing
Intensified the recruitment of talented personnel
Introduced innovative techniques.

In the United States, the successful launching of Sputnik led the Federal government to begin an immediate assessment of its educational institutions. The educational experts—professors, teachers, and scholars—were consulted. In 1958, Congress enacted the National Defense Education Act and emphasis was placed on the natural sciences, mathematics, and foreign languages. Millions of dollars were poured into both state and local systems in an effort to develop outstanding students in these fields. This decision

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was based upon a broad scholarly perception of life. What was the basis of this decision? The basis was white Anglo-Saxon-Protestant values, not the needs and desires of the total community. While the broad goals and objectives may have been acceptable, there was no consideration given the skills of community learning.

When one considers our present educational system, one is confronted with certain phenomena. Johnny attends school five days a week; on Saturdays and Sundays, he is exposed to many experiences in his community. In school, Johnny does not do well, but he can count to twenty-one and he knows the various combinations of seven and eleven. In school, Johnny cannot read his textbooks, but he can read dirty books and other unacceptable publications. Johnny has no problems with certain communication skills, either. What is happening to Johnny in the community that is not happening in schools? Our schools lack the relevancy of real life experiences. Some educational change must occur.

Community Involvement

The question which then arises is what educational changes must occur in order that real life experiences be incorporated into the school experience? The expertise of the community must be solicited. There is a need to involve the community in the schools' activities. The community must be involved in determining not only the content, but the skills which are needed to provide quality education in our schools. Such a wedding of the school and the community is necessary if the goal of providing a quality education is to be attained. However the intention of such involvement must not be to placate the community or to manipulate it. The objective must be to make public education more relevant and to increase support for it in the home.

The most fundamental objective of education is the development of individual human dignity and self-realization within the community. However the education of a youngster is the result of his experiences in the total environment. Much of what a youngster learns in school is isolated from and has no significant effect upon the youngster's behavior outside of school. The educational establishment is isolated from the problems, dilemmas, choices, and phenomena encountered beyond the walls of the school building. The progressives tried to handle this separation by bringing more "real-life" activities into the classroom. They tried to make school work simulate real-life situations by introducing various manual skills and decision-making activities.

What is suggested here is that communities be actively involved in the educational process. Such involvement would require some coordination of such resources as churches, businesses, museums, libraries, community improvement groups, political groups, and social service organizations. In order to effect such coordination, the following questions must be considered:

- Can the schools alone produce quality education?
- Is the school a cultural island separated from the community mainland by the same kind of barrier that separates fantasy from real life?
- Does the school lead or follow the community, or does it do a little of both?

Use of Community Resources

A review of some concrete examples of the use of community resources in creating quality education is pertinent here.

Community action resulted in the selection of one of the first black superintendents of schools in 1968.

- The Trenton School System was faced with certain problems. (1) Trenton Central High School enrolled approximately 3,000 students—45 percent white and 55 percent nonwhite. (2) The track system allowed black students to be assigned to classes tracked as "slow." (3) Little effort had been made to increase the percentage of black teachers and administrative personnel; twelve out of 180 teachers were black. (4) A double standard of discipline existed. (5) The selection of a new superintendent was pending.
- The Black Teachers Organization proposed that a survey of Trenton blacks be made in order to fill five important school vacancies.
- "We the People," a grass roots organization, supported the Black Teachers Organization. (1) They circulated leaflets designed to acquaint the community with the issue. (2) They helped man a picket line in front of City Hall during the lunch hour from May to July.
- Established black middle-class organizations, such as the following, also lent support: the local chapter of the N.A.A.C.P., fraternal organizations, and the Political Action Council headed by a black Trenton assemblyman.
- Black groups demanded a public hearing before the final choice was made.
- On July 23, 1968, Dr. Ercell Watson was appointed the first black superintendent of the public schools of Trenton, New Jersey.

A major testing ground for the community school approach was the Adams-Morgan Project in Washington, D.C.

- The Adams-Morgan Project was from the beginning something more and something less than a community controlled school. It involved: (1) an approach to college participation in schools (Antioch College),

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(2) the use of differentiated staffing, (3) team teaching, (4) a nongraded organization, (5) open-ended curriculum, and (6) a program of teacher and subprofessional education.

- It involved the Adams-Morgan Community Council which was composed largely of white and middle-class citizens who lived west of 18th Street—young professionals and liberals who wished to be politically active and were looking for power.
- The lack of positive direction resulted in failure concerning: (1) community participation, (2) teachers' attitudes and preparations, (3) classroom organization and curriculum, and (4) the role of outside agencies in relation to the schools.
- It was decided that all of the above issues must be worked out by the community and the school together or the educational fabric would unravel almost as quickly as it was stitched.

A perfect example of what the community can do may be seen through an observation of the efforts of Dr. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia. In 1964, Dr. Sullivan organized the Opportunities Industrialization Center with staff persons from the various schools and industries within that city to give "grass roots" citizens training in such areas as: electronics, power sewing, drafting, cabinetmaking, restaurant practices, commercial cooking, department store sales, welding, dry cleaning, and laundry work. Six thousand people were trained and five thousand of them were placed on jobs.

There are many similar cases of success and failure in this regard, but in each situation the involvement of the community and the use of community resources appears obvious and strong.

In 1965, the Federal government recognized the need for community input by passing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which demanded the establishment of two groups of community persons with decision-making responsibilities. If the local educational agencies did not follow these guidelines, Federal funds were to be cut. Each year, up to the 1972-73 school year, the City of Baltimore received approximately eleven million dollars for the compensatory education of deprived students.

In the development of the Fallstaff Middle School Concept, the Baltimore City Public Schools involved the communities of Mt. Washington, Fallstaff, and Cross Country. I pray that the people in the inner city get the same opportunity in creating a school geared to their desires and needs.

Through the Model Cities Agency of Baltimore various community-centered educational projects such as the following are operating.

- The Community Learning Centers are designed somewhat after the Mississippi Freedom Schools. Children who do not adjust to the regular routine of the public schools are enrolled and are given individualized educational experiences. When they are ready they can return to the public schools.
- The Direct Search for Talent Project is designed to encourage students to develop their talents in the high schools and in institutions of higher learning.
- The Cultural Arts Program under the direction of Norman Ross has been very active in rendering aid to the public schools in the many fields of arts.
- The ill-fated Pilot Schools Project was designed to bring about innovative methods of teaching inner-city pupils through the use of a model which provides for community participation.

Examples of private industry which play a positive role in helping to create quality education in our public schools are *Center Stage*, who in its efforts to carry the world of the theatre to the children, presents Story Telling Programs and Workshops, and the McCormick Company, who through the *McCormick Plan*, provides a program of career development within its own particular community.

An example of individuals in the community playing a role in creating meaningful educational experiences is Dr. Herbert Frisby. Whenever a teacher presents a unit dealing with the North Pole, Dr. Frisby will gladly assist. As a former teacher, he is very capable of delivering an exciting and informative presentation.

Parents—A Community Resource

The most valuable community resource are the parents. Regardless of the educational and income levels of parents, they are interested in their children. They want the best for their children. Attitudes have to change in order to get the best out of this community resource. School administrators must be receptive to innovative methods and must do a little "reaching out." Teachers must include parental involvement in their planning; and parents must realize that because educators do not know it all, they must assume their responsibilities in creating quality education in their communities.

In many schools this is done through the conventional parent group—The Parent-Teacher Association. Most Parent-Teacher Associations, throughout the years however, have been controlled by the principals. Parents are generally expected to assume a service role, such as: conducting money-making projects to purchase equipment for the school, conferring with teachers, serving as chaperones whenever the school needs them, helping to keep the school community clean, or serving the school in a number of other ways. Why not allow them to make some decisions in reference to the educational aspects of the schools to which they have entrusted their children?

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All parents are not interested in controlling the schools, but all are interested in preparing their children so that they may be able to overcome the pitfalls of society. Why not, then, organize parents and other community persons, and give them the necessary tools so that they can play positive roles in creating quality education. Many of them are waiting and eager for someone within the schools to say, "Come and help us."

Administrators and teachers often do not possess the qualities which would enable them to reach parents. It is important that they exhibit humility, understanding, honesty, sensitivity to the feelings of others, and interest in others.

Administrators, teachers, and parents must realize that they possess mutual interests and similar responsibilities in creating quality education throughout this country.

The Educational Theories of Christopher Jencks

Implications for Classroom Teachers

. . . The fundamental problem is not a racial one, and children and adults alike should be judged in terms of their particular pattern of abilities, personality traits, and other individual characteristics rather than in terms of their color. . . .

Charles A. Ashbury

It is a well-documented historical fact that certain segments of the academic community have a tendency from time to time to obfuscate true ethics of scholarship and the quest for scientific truth whenever social and political forces bring into prominence the matter of dealing justly with minority groups. This is especially true with regard to Blacks in their quest for a fair and equal chance to share in the greatness that is America.

The most recent in a long series of such events is the highly publicized advent of the controversial work of Christopher Jencks and his colleagues at Harvard University entitled *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*.

The Jencks book has provoked an enormous amount of controversy with the report that equalizing educational opportunity will have no appreciable effect on equalizing income in our society. This report and its attendant publicity have provided much cannon fodder for educational conservatives as well as for a variety of assorted bigots. An examination of the study along with the recent census reports gives rise to some cogent questions concerning the tenability of Jencks' conclusions. One big weakness relates to the failure to account for age differences in education and income (Tanner, 1973).

A recent census report shows that persons between the ages of 20 and 29 have completed an average (median) of almost 13 years of schooling, whereas those between 55 and 64 years of age have only 11.3 years of schooling. It is not reasonable, however, to expect the younger group to have the higher income; and by ignoring the age factor Jencks confounds the expected relationship between education and income and concludes that schooling accounts for little variation in income.

Family heads under 25 years of age have a mean annual income of only $7,354, as compared with $12,920 for those in the 45 to 64 year age group. In addition, less than 3 percent of family heads over 25 are earning between $15,000 and $25,000, whereas approximately 26 percent of family heads in the 45 to 64 year age group have an income in this range. Despite age, recent census data actually show a clear positive relationship between education and income.

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in that employed males who are earning under $6,000 do not on the average have a high school education, whereas those who are earning $15,000 and over have completed 3.2 median years of college. Jencks claims that 40 percent of income difference between college graduates and terminal elementary school graduates is attributable to factors other than schooling such as "varieties of luck."

Even Jencks' own data refute him when he reports that extra schooling for upper-middle-class males produces a higher rate of income amounting to some 24 to 29 percent. These kinds of things imply that as an ex-newspaperman Jencks was well aware of what was and was not newsworthy in his report of findings. It is always amazing how an investigator usually finds things in his research which support his own pet theories and points of view.

There is a standing joke in the psychology profession to the effect that if a psychologist is married and has children, his children always behave in accordance with whatever theory of behavior the psychologist happens to believe in. Interestingly enough, Jencks chose to completely disregard the fact that college graduates differ widely in income according to their chosen occupations even though they may have identical years of schooling. Compare, for example, the income of a baccalaureate public school teacher with that of a baccalaureate professional football player.

Less than two years prior to the publication of the report, Jencks was advocating education vouchers as a means of exposing "children to their full share of the bright, talented, sensitive teachers." He wanted disadvantaged children to have more advantaged classmates since this, in his view, was the most important single resource.

Now Jencks has done an about-face when he informs us that schooling is not a large factor in improving one's place in society. But oddly, when he was presented with the latest census findings (as reported in an interview in *The New York Times*), Jencks acknowledged that "the association between schooling and income is there. What remains a mystery is why." As Daniel Tanner (1973) has stated, perhaps the real mystery is why Jencks concluded otherwise in his highly publicized report. Also a mystery is why so many educators have accepted his findings. In these days when romantic dogmatists are attempting to "deschool" society, misdirected and misconstrued studies must not be allowed to influence educational policy.

Jencks and his colleagues are also intensely interested in the genetic versus the environmentalistic determination of I.Q. This is a confusing issue which should be settled in terms of the most promising avenues of research (and public policy) to be pursued. If the environmentalists are right, Head Start makes sense, and so do all the other programs of compensatory education. On the other hand if the geneticists are right, only the realization of the genetic origin or social disability will enable us to investigate the precise nature of what it is that has been inherited and to take environmental action to counteract the effects of genetic disorder (Eysenck, 1971). This has become a fictitious issue in that it implies that the major problems we have in education are spinoffs of the larger racial problem in our society. I believe these issues to be false ones.

What are the true issues? They center on the problem of educating the less able, less academic, less educable generally, in such a way that they are enabled to play a proper part in the economic, industrial, and commercial life of the nation, instead of being condemned to blind-alley jobs, unskilled labor, or the dole; and also of educating them in such a way that they are enabled to enjoy the abundant leisure which we are told is just around the corner for everyone (Eysenck, 1971). To be sure, this is a general problem, not limited to, or even particularly linked with, the color question. It is doubtful if anyone familiar with what goes on in our schools, or what comes out of our schools by way of finished product, can honestly say that we have even begun to attack this problem seriously. Bored youngsters, eager to leave at the first opportunity; boys and girls almost illiterate, unable to write or spell or read anything but comics—these are the proud products of an educational system which flits from fad to fad without any basis in solid research, or proper understanding of the processes involved in learning, or the bases of motivation. It is the dull ones, who need support most, who suffer. The wonder is not that they run wild, but rather that they tolerate so patiently what is done to them in the name of education (Eysenck, 1971).

This, then, is a general problem, and even if it can be shown that a higher proportion of Blacks than whites is to be found in the "under 90 I.Q." group, this hardly makes it a racial problem. It is considered that any big industrial concern should finance research into the processes used by it to the tune of between 1 percent and 5 percent of its turnover in order to remain competitive. Education does not finance research into education at a rate even one-hundredth of that. Until it does, it is unlikely that these problems will be solved.

The fundamental problem is not a racial one, and children and adults alike should be judged in terms of their particular pattern of abilities, personality traits, and other individual characteristics rather than in terms of their color.

We need to start again at the beginning. We already know a few things which suggest a different strategy for introducing meaningful programs. Realization of

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one's errors is the beginning of wisdom and true knowledge and effective action cannot be based on hypothetical unproven and probably erroneous notions of what causal agencies might be involved.

In this section I should like to give a summary of Jencks' findings and then point to some implications which he himself has drawn from his conclusions.

Jencks' Summary of His Findings

Access to school resources was quite unequal, since spending is uneven across districts and also utilization of school resources was even more unequal than access. Middle-class people have access to more than their share of educational resources. Access to white middle-class classmates is also quite unequal, in the sense that schools are somewhat segregated by class and quite segregated by race.

Both genetic and environmental inequality played a major role in producing cognitive inequality, with those who started out with genetic advantages tending to get environmental advantages as well. (Genes influenced test scores both by influencing the way children were treated and by influencing how much children learned when they were treated in exactly the same way.) There was no evidence that differences between schools contributed significantly to cognitive inequality.

Family background had much more influence than I.Q. genotype on an individual's educational attainment. Family influence depended partly on its socioeconomic status and partly on cultural and psychological characteristics independent of socioeconomic level.

Men's occupational statuses turned out to be quite closely tied to their educational attainment. Both family background and cognitive skill influenced occupational status, but they did this largely by influencing the amount of schooling men got, not by influencing the statuses of men who had completed their education.

Educational credentials influence the occupations men enter, but credentials do not have much effect on earnings within any given occupation, so their overall effect on income is moderate.

Family background and cognitive skills have some effect on a man's occupation, and some effect on his income even after he has entered a given occupation, but their overall influence is also moderate. The genes that influence I.Q. scores appear to have relatively little influence over income. Estimates are that there is nearly as much income variation among men who come from similar families, have similar credentials, and have similar test scores as among men in general. This suggests either that competence does not depend primarily on family background, schooling, and test scores, or else that income does not depend on competence.

Jencks' Implications of Findings for Educators

(1) No evidence suggests that school reform can be expected to bring about significant social changes outside school. (2) Equalizing educational opportunity would do very little to make adults more equal. Jencks believes that if all elementary schools were equally effective, cognitive inequality among sixth graders would decline less than 3 percent. If all high schools were equally effective, cognitive inequality among twelfth graders would hardly decline at all, and disparities in their eventual attainment would decline less than 1 percent. (3) Schools could move beyond equal opportunity, establishing a system of compensatory opportunity in which the best schooling was reserved for those who were disadvantaged in other respects, but this would have only modest results. School reform cannot make adults more equal, because: (a) children seem to be far more influenced by what happens at home than by what happens in school; (b) reformers have very little control over those aspects of school life that affect children (reallocating resources, reassigning pupils, and rewriting the curriculum seldom change the way teachers and students actually treat each other minute by minute); and (c) even when a school exerts an unusual influence on children, the resulting changes are not likely to persist into adulthood.

These arguments suggest that the "factory" model which pervades both lay and professional thinking about schools ought to be abandoned. In terms of input and output, the character of a school's output depends largely on a single input, namely the characteristics of the entering children. School should be viewed as an end in itself rather than as a means to an end. Diversity should be an explicit objective of schools and school systems.

The ideal system is one that provides as many varieties of schooling as its children and parents want and finds ways of matching children to schools that suit them. Since professional educators do not seem to understand the long-term effects of schooling any better than parents do, there is no compelling reason why the profession should be empowered to rule out alternatives that appeal to parents, even if they seem educationally "unsound." Schools should not be run like summer camps, however, where children are merely kept out of trouble.

Children need a sense of purpose. This means giving them activities that contribute to their becoming more like grownups. A school system's objectives may be quite diverse, providing a wide range of choice. Every family should have a free choice as to which schools its children attend. The basic principle

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is simply that every child in a district should have the same claim on every school, regardless of where he happens to live. This means that if a poor black mother wants her children in a predominately white school, she should be free to enroll them, and the district should transport them there. It does not mean that if she wants white children in her neighborhood school, the district must compel white students to enroll there.

Jencks also favors central financing as a means of making schools more responsive to groups they have traditionally ignored and as a means of equalizing expenditures across districts and states.

He also favors open admission to higher education, financed by sources other than the home.

Basically Jencks is advocating a scheme for equalizing income distribution and he contends that equalizing opportunity is not the way to accomplish this.

What does Jencks propose in order to remedy these problems? (1) We need to make annual expenditures per pupil more equal. (2) Jencks favors a system in which higher education is financed by taxing (surcharging) those who have benefited from it directly. (3) He believes all schools should be open to any student who wants to attend: (a) school districts should admit any student in the district to any school he wants to attend, no matter where he lives; (b) the district ought to pay the cost of transporting the pupil; (c) if a school got too crowded, expansion would seem feasible. If expansion were impossible, students would be admitted by lot. A school could also be divided in half with pupils assigned randomly.

Implications for Teachers

Those who believe in neighborhood schools object to this approach on grounds that "outsiders will take over 'our schools.'" These are likely to be the same people who resist outsiders (i.e., Blacks) moving into "their" neighborhood. Committed integrationists also object to such a system, on the grounds that it is simply a warmed-over version of what the North calls "open enrollment" and the South calls "freedom of choice." Blacks will only attend school with whites if they apply to schools where whites are enrolled. Whites can escape attending schools with Blacks if they can find schools that have no Black applicants. In a community where Blacks are expected to stay in their place, and are subject to all sorts of sanctions if they apply to an all-white school, a system of this kind will achieve almost nothing. In a community where the school administration believes in desegregated schools, such a system could produce dramatic changes in attendance patterns. The "liberal" alternative to this position is compulsory busing at present.

Implications for Curriculum Assignment

Schools should avoid classifying students whenever possible.

At the elementary level, students would be randomly assigned to classes and teachers should respond to students' individual interests rather than expecting all students to learn the same thing.

At the secondary level, students should not be segregated into college preparatory and noncollege curricula that determine what they must study, but should be free to design their own curricula from whatever courses the school offers. Students who hope to attend college must be told what to take, but if they prefer vocational courses that also should be possible. Students who want job training should be given it, if the programs have practical value; but if these students also want to take academic courses, they should be encouraged to do so on the same basis as anyone else. While not making graduates appreciably more equal, these reforms would give every student an equal claim on educational resources, desirable classmates, and interesting subject matter while he is in school. Also, there would be a recognition that every student's needs are equally legitimate.

Educational Vouchers

Jencks is a staunch advocate of the voucher plan. The idea of using educational vouchers is to accelerate breaking away from some of the practices which are recognized as being ineffective, if not futile, but which are deeply embedded in bureaucracy. The medium for this movement is to issue vouchers to parents for their children's elementary school education which may be "cashed" at any school of their choice. Schools which did not have the program, facilities, and personnel which attracted customers would not survive. Aside from maintaining minimum standards and observing certain regulations, established by an educational voucher agency, schools would be free to expand and experiment along lines which parents and pupils deemed to be worthwhile.

The plan was developed by Jencks (1970, "Giving Parents Money for Schooling: Education Vouchers," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 52:49-52) under contract with the U.S. Office of Education, and it was anticipated that it would be tried on a limited basis. Forecasts of success are based on the success of the G.I. Bill which allowed students to pursue their educational careers at multitudes of approved institutions. Some of the problems which must be dealt with in basic regulations are: (1) seeing that better supported schools are not provided by the financially able than are provided by those of low economic status; (2) prohibiting parents from supplementing the value of the voucher; (3) not providing a device by which racists may avoid having their children associate with those of another

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color; (4) preventing distance and transportation from becoming a barrier to equal educational opportunity; and (5) preventing religious organizations from using vouchers for purposes of proselyting (making converts).

There is some apprehension that this untried version of education will destroy public education (Clayton, 1970) or that parents are any better qualified to judge and seek for better schools than are elected school board members (Havighurst, 1970). Nevertheless, Jencks feels that teaching and learning are subtle processes, and they seem to resist all attempts at improvement by formal regulation. Rule books are seldom subtle enough to prevent the bad things that can happen in schools and are seldom flexible enough to allow the best things (Jencks, 1970).

Increasing numbers of educators and economists contend that educational mediocrity results from the lack of student and parental choice concerning which schools receive their tax money. The Voucher Plan represents a major alternative that would remedy this problem. Parents of every school-age child in a trial section of a city would be given a chit worth a certain number of dollars (equal to the current local per-pupil expenditure). The parents would give the chit to the school of their choice, public or private. The chosen school would then cash the chit with a voucher agency, similar to a school board, which would set rules for all participating schools. These rules might include the prohibition of racial discrimination, the stipulation that seats be made available through a lottery, and the guarantee that parents receive accurate nonpropagandistic "advertising" material from schools.

The supporters of the voucher plan hope that increased real economic power for parents would serve as a spur to schools to assess more carefully their responsibility to their clients, as well as to motivate them to perform in accordance with the parents' wishes. The impetus for the voucher plan comes primarily from economists, school critics who believe in the need for new schools, and Federal officials seeking ways around both the current school financial crisis and the slowness of school reform. No one knows, of course, how well such a plan would work in practice.

The educational voucher program is aimed at making schools more responsive to students and parents, giving all parents a choice in the education of their children and increasing parental responsibility in their children's education. Parents would receive a voucher for each of their children equal to the amount of the school system's average per-pupil expenditure; the voucher could be spent in any school of their choice—public or private. Children who are disadvantaged, mentally retarded, or otherwise more difficult to teach would receive more valuable vouchers; the increment would be paid by the Federal government. Additional transportation would also be provided for from Federal funds. A participating school would be required to publicize information about its facilities, programs, teachers, and students and would have to take all those who apply. If a school could not handle all its applicants, half its enrollment would be determined by a lottery, thus reducing the danger of discrimination. Proponents of the plan feel that those who would most benefit from it are children from disadvantaged areas, who are now attending the poorest schools. Critics, including the NAACP and teachers' unions, maintain that the program would perpetuate segregation and that children of less sophisticated parents would be left in a "dumping ground," deserted by most students for better schools.

Further Implications for Teachers

Teachers and other members of the education profession should begin to take the offensive rather than the defensive stance in dealing with critics like Jencks.

Teachers should begin to organize for action which would result in more pupil learning in much the same way that they have organized in their quest for higher pay, better working conditions, etc.

We should stop always following someone else's lead and permitting ourselves to be distracted from the primary mission of educating children. It is crucial that we stop permitting the white power structure to define the issues which affect and are important to Black people.

We ought to stop using terms like "deprived child" and "compensatory education" and go back to our older position that black children can learn just as well as anybody else if they are properly taught and we believe they can learn.

Teachers should avoid becoming too locked into the system of bureaucracy and union advocacy, where everything is either strictly prescribed (has to be done) or strictly forbidden (must not be done). This tendency puts too many constraints on the educative process and makes robots of teachers, much to the detriment of the teachers' growth and the child's learning.

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Bridging the Gap Between School and the Community

A CHALLENGE

> . . . How far does the school move to create change? There are some who are so timid they wouldn't move at all. Others would want us to create a brave new world tomorrow. My own prescription is, "Go as fast as you can (you'd be surprised how many are on your side), as slow as you must (you can't be out there leading alone with everybody far behind, you'll be bumped off)."
>
> "Go as fast as you can, as slow as you must—but go!"

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Harry Bard

The community school movement is receiving a good deal of attention these days and currently the Baltimore City Public Schools are on the frontier of the development. Certainly the new Dunbar High School, with its articulation of community health, education, and recreational needs, represents the front line in the movement. The use of the charette, including the integral role of community members indicates that Dunbar is not only for the community, but by it. The community school movement, under Mrs. Pearl Brackett, is further indication of how far the Baltimore City Public Schools have gone.

The Beginnings of the Baltimore City Public Schools

It is interesting to note that the present school-community movement carries us back to the very beginnings of the Baltimore City Public Schools. This is not an empty or academic exercise in which we partake when we look at our origins. In the 1820's, Baltimore, like other parts of a young United States, was wrestling with the whole concept of public education as a new idea. Sure it wasn't public in the full sense of the word. There were racial restrictions; the education was limited to elementary grades, and there were restrictions in curriculum. But in the same sense that the Declaration of Independence—though equally limited—was the beginning of an important idea, the public schools that opened in Baltimore in 1828, nearly 150 years ago, set forth the idea that the community was to have an important role in operating the schools.

For virtually the first forty years the School Commissioners hired and rated the teachers, managed the school funds, rented the buildings, set the learning patterns, established rules for discipline, and ran the schools. The schools belonged to the Commissioners who represented the public. The whole idea emerged with the growth of Jacksonian Democracy in America and the liberal revolutions of the 1930's in Continental Europe, the Reform Movement in England, and the real beginnings of labor unions in America. Jacksonian Democracy brought the elimination of religious and property requirements for holding office and a whole new faith in man, including the beginnings of the abolition movement among whites and the origins of revolts for emancipation among blacks. Sure, again, it was a limited democratic movement.

The Professional Staff Takes Over

It was the 1860's that brought about the professionalization of school activities in the Baltimore City system. In 1866, the first city school superintendent was appointed, a Rev. M. Jilton. In that decade, too, the state school system came into being. In 1866, the Maryland State Normal School came into being, and some eighteen years later a department of pedagogy at Johns Hopkins. The "scientific pedagogue," thanks to Henry Barnard and Horace Mann, came into being and teaching and learning were professionalized. So the community abdicated, and more and more professional administration came into being at the central offices in Baltimore and elsewhere. As more professional administrators came into being the School Board relinquished its hold, and decisions of all kinds were made by the professionals.

The School and Community Cooperate

Then some sixty years after the coming of the professional—a good turning point would be World War I, 1918—the Baltimore schools moved into a period of cooperation between schools and community. Locust Point Elementary School was built with community health and library facilities under the principalship of Miss Persis Miller, who was an early school-community proponent. Other significant happenings include the war efforts in the schools, the coming of neighborhood improvement associations, the Public School Association organized in 1920, the

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highly important Citizens Advisory Committee of seventy-five representative citizens appointed in 1933 looking at the entire school curriculum. The economy depression of the late twenties and thirties brought more citizen participation to review the school budget. The PTA movement originated in the 1930's with 110 PTA's in Baltimore, as did the Human Relations movement and Committees of the 1930's in the Baltimore Public Schools.

Finally, came the effect of the community school movement brought about during World War II and the community and child study movements in the Baltimore City Public Schools in the late forties, the fifties, and early sixties, which reached thousands of teachers. More recently came the Community School Division. We are now full force into the school-community cycle, with decentralization a strong symbol of the idea.

Today, 150 years after its origin, the Baltimore City Public Schools are back to the early start with the concept that the professionals alone will not call the signals. Only this time the community is a wider community—race, property, sex, and other limitations have, in the main, been destroyed. Other restrictions in terms of early grades only are gone. Some eighty to ninety percent of those who started first grade are likely to finish high school, and nearly one-half of those will go on to college. Furthermore, the curriculum is quite different. This time the public—unlike the situation in 1828—involves more people and its undertakings are broader in scope.

Yet, I don't want to build too rosy a picture, for at the moment there is a good deal of disenchantment with the public schools in Baltimore and elsewhere, and the various communities may even be antagonistic, not cooperative. But I believe this is part of the general malaise, general Watergate, and general skepticism, though it is true that the relationships between school and community need to be cleared up.

Still there are some bridges that have been solidly built and I want to establish them. They represent a solid base that grows out of the years of the experiences I've described. The values in this heritage are solid.

To Understand the City

First is the view that we must *understand* the community in which we teach. It is not a simple thing to say that we will seek to understand the community. Do we mean the City, the neighborhood, or both? My own strong thoughts are that we mean both. The public schools by law and by custom are controlled by the City—the real estate tax supporting the schools is collected citywide. The organic responsibility is to a city School Board, but each school exists within a context of its own, the neighborhood, so both city and neighborhood are involved.

But it is the City we must understand first. Sure we should know the physical features, the importance of the harbor, the phenomenal physical changes brought about by Charles Center, Inner Harbor, and those yet to come at Coldspring, a city within a city. We should also know something about the structure of Baltimore's government and how it operates. These are the surface understandings. We can go to books, like those issued by the Greater Baltimore Committee. We can read the City Charter or better yet visit the City Hall and see the surface operations of the City Council and Board of Estimates in action.

But a city is like a person; merely describing him in terms of height, weight, and color of eyes, is hardly enough to tell you what he is like. This is why a portrait painter seeks to go beyond the mere photograph.

Unfortunately, there has never been published a good, intensive sociological study of Baltimore such as Klein did for Pittsburgh. Most of the writings about this city have been frothy, such as those in *Holiday Magazine* which talk of Baltimore's oysters and crab cakes, the Colts, Johnny Unitas, and The Block. Even Francis Bierne's *Amiable Baltimoreans* is very surface treating.

I'd like to deal with some of the more deep-seated understandings about Baltimore that need to get into a study of what the city is like. A few years ago I did a long article for the *Afro-American* on this subject, and I raised the point that Baltimore is both plagued and blessed with three overriding paradoxes.

The Memories of Baltimore

First, the paradox of *memories* based on acts no longer is as severe as it was in the past. The memory of hate is not an easy one to dismiss. Countee Cullen, the black poet, writing in 1925 spoke of an "Incident." He wrote—

Once riding in old Baltimore
Heart filled, head filled with glee
I saw a Baltimorean
Keep looking straight at me.
"Now I was eight and very small
And he was no whit bigger,
And so I smiled, but he poked out
His tongue, and called me, Nigger.
I saw the whole of Baltimore
From May until December
Of all the things that happened there
That's all that I remember."

It is these memories of "white only" signs at the lavatories of Pratt Library, of separate meetings, of separate salary schedules for black and white teachers, of segregated schools, of Marian Anderson's problem at the Lyric, of the Tennis Court Oath at Druid

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Hill Park, the severe housing . . . and occupational restrictions, and the cutting off of all participation in government.

And other groups have their memories, too. The Jews of Baltimore lived in a city with more housing restrictive covenants than any other place in the United States the restrictions at Anneslie, Stoneleigh, Roland Park, Guilford, and for a long time Ashburton and Lochearn. There was virtually an iron housing band around the city which didn't permit Jews to break through.

Roman Catholics have their memories, too. It was not too many years ago that graduates of the education department at Notre Dame of Maryland were not permitted to do their practice teaching in Baltimore public schools. White Protestants and ethnic groups also have their memories the accusations against the Central YMCA's the lack of appointments to the School Board from ethnic East and South Baltimore. Women have their memories, too recalling that there were separate salary schedules and that return from maternity leaves brought automatic assignment to special education classes.

Memories Leave Deep Impressions

The sad part about all these memories is that though the seeds of hate no longer flower to the same point, the memories have had their effect, and the one against whom there were recriminations often believes it most or at least has often learned to live more comfortably with the lie itself.

So many Jews in Baltimore live in self-ghettoization long after the walls of the ringed city are down. Many blacks shy away from Provident Hospital and even more whites do so long after the stereotype has been destroyed. A goodly number of qualified white Protestants refuse to run for the City Council saying they wouldn't have a chance. And a significant number of conservative whites hold onto the memories of a Baltimore with cotillions, of hunt races in the Valley, and of a Southern milleau long gone.

To understand the memories of a city is not to succumb to the hatreds nor the wisteria. We must start with ourselves; the memories of the self-pity and the self-guilt should be forgotten. If we or our predecessors have been hurt in the far past, by all means let's note it. Moreover, let's not be satisfied with progress that is unfinished, and let's vow to finish the job. But let's not have the hatreds or self-flagellation prey upon us to such a degree that it destroys our effectiveness to create a better city.

Wiggle-Room

By all means let's seek to find the Baltimore of the "wiggle-room." The fascinating thing about Baltimore is the paradox of the best amidst the worst. At all times in the history of the City there has been an element seeking reform. For example, in the 1890's when the City was ridden with politics and graft and bossism, people like Daniel C. Gilman, who was president of Johns Hopkins, brought about a new City Charter which created a civil service system for City workers, including teachers. In the late 1940's when most Baltimoreans stated they were not ready for racial integration of schools, Superintendent William H. Lemmel and later to be President of the School Board, Walter Sondheim, along with others in and out of the school system such as Martin Jenkins, Vivian Cook, and Furman Templeton small group though we were prepared the way for Baltimore to succeed when the 1954 Supreme Court decision came.

The Power Structure

In understanding the City it is important to identify those who can help bring about change. It is often surprising to find that specific reforms can often come about under a wide umbrella. When I was Chairman of the Bard Councilmanic Redistricting Committee in 1967, and again in 1971, which sought to bring about more equitable distribution (especially in terms of minority representation), we created a reform coalition that included CORE, The Womens' Civic League, The Junior Association of Commerce, The League of Women Voters, Womanpower, The NAACP, and The Urban League. We won a smashing victory at the polls against the standpatters in the Council and against the traditional politicans.

Where is the power structure of Baltimore? It was once quietly hidden in the Maryland Club or in the hands of political bosses like Kelly, Mahon, and Pollack. Today it's dispersed at many ethnic, racial, socio-economic, cultural, and political levels. A sophisticated study will show that the power structures have changed radically in Baltimore in recent years.

The Neighborhood

Earlier, I stated that to know the City was not enough; each school has its own ethos, its own neighborhood, its own values and mores, its own power structures. As anyone who has studied the New York City school-community movement knows, sometimes the folkways of the neighborhood run smack into deep conflict with those for the City.

As educators, at all times conflict or not our focus must be on the child. You have had a number of presentations in this series on ethnic, racial, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds of our school children. In the neighborhood studies the primary focus is the pupil who faces us each day as we teach a class. Here it is not merely a search to understand him but to put ourselves in his shoes to

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empathize. We can teach him only if we understand what it is that he internalizes. Anyone who has ever taught school knows that what you as a teacher say in a math, English, or history class may have as many meanings as there are students in your room. No pupil comes into the classroom alone. He brings with him his environment, and both enter into the learning process.

The Child

Walt Whitman, the great democratizing poet, said it so well in his poetry - "There Was a Child Went Forth"

There was a child went forth every day,
And the first object he look'd upon, the object he became,
And that object became part of him for the day or a certain part of the day,
Or for many years or stretching cycles of years.

The early lilacs became part of this child

His own parents, he that had father'd him and she that had conceived him in her womb and birth'd him

The mother with mild words, clean her cap and gown, a wholesome odor falling off her person and clothes as she walks by,
The father, strong. . .
The blow, the quick loud word
The family usages, the language

The streets themselves and the facades of houses

These became part of the child who went forth every day and who now goes and will always go forth every day.

How will we know this child unless we walk with him on his way to school, unless we are familiar with his hopes, his fears? How many of us have taken time to walk around the block where our school is located, to stop and talk with the people. Indeed, to virtually become familiar with the smells of the neighborhood. Baltimore's schools serve a district which conforms somewhat to a census tract area. The 1970 Census Report for Baltimore has a breakdown report on each tract in terms of population data age, sex, race, national origin, years of schooling for those over twenty-five years of age, housing, income, occupations, etc. It's an interesting exercise to study this data for your school.

Where are the power structures for your school's neighborhood? Which group and which individuals make the decisions? What are the sensitive problems of the neighborhood?

The Community Enters the Curriculum

To understand the City and the school's neighborhood is the beginning. To make all of this a part of the school curriculum is the next step. If rodent control is a neighborhood concern, then students in their health studies can learn how to deal with rats. If the problem is a lack of sophistication in getting through governmental bureaucracy, then social studies classes ought to deal with how to petition, how to lobby, and how to testify. Of course, this often leads to moving out of the four walls of the classrooms to field trips, student participatory projects, released time activities, investigatory studies, and other ways of using community resources.

To Improve the Community

An even higher level of school-community relations is that related to improving the neighborhood. Here the stakes are high, but the casualty lists are long. Many a Sir Galahad has been bumped from his white steed. The major controversies center around the debate as to whether the school reflects or affects society. Those who hold sharply on the theme that the school *reflects only*, say the school has no business re-making society.

Others hold that whether the school likes it or not, it must re-make society. The mere fact that secondary education now enrolls virtually all students means that the populace will be more articulate and the American standard of living is likely to go up.

But does the school take sides on controversial questions such as abortion and busing school children? How about required school prayer? Capital punishment?

At the least the school must make students aware of the problems. Moreover, the school can give students the means to express their opinions. In widely accepted areas, such as "getting out the vote," the school can play a more active part.

Most important of all, those community problems that impinge upon learning, e.g., the Right to Read Program, finances to permit students to go to school, school lunches, academic deficiencies, and job preparation are areas where the school's responsibilities are clear-cut. It is important to remember that when a teacher, or department, or an entire school undertakes a community improvement project, it is best not to work alone. No matter what the topic may be, there is always an authoritative agency working in the field. For example, if there is a need for consumer education, the Urban League in Baltimore has a special bureau in this area and a lot of competence as does the Maryland State's Attorney's Office. If there is a search to improve housing conditions, the Citizens Planning and Housing Association has assigned school workers. If the study involves legal rights of

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tenants, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the District Courts of Baltimore have assigned personnel. If the project involves human rights, there are two governmental commissions on this subject – one for the City and a Statewide one.

Community Relations as a Wheel

School-community relations might be symbolized as a wheel. The hub is the student whom we seek to improve. He is the focus. The rim is the community and the spokes that connect the rim to the hub are the various community agencies: Model Cities, the NCCJ, Womanpower, The League of Women Voters, CORE, the PTA, governmental agencies, etc. The agencies brought into the picture are determined by the activity at hand. But they all work together in terms of community councils.

As I see it, the school is one of the spokes and it takes the leading role, with others helping, when the subject is school-related, such as reading. If the subject is rodent control for the neighborhood, the meeting might be at the school and certainly the school would have a role in terms of curriculum, but it would be the city's rodent control division of the Health Department taking the lead.

Of course you cannot segment a person's problems into little pieces and into agency contact that become overwhelming. So it is well that the Dunbar School will contain health facilities, but that doesn't mean that the teachers will replace public health workers who should man that service. It does mean that teachers at Dunbar will make certain that their students use these health facilities and that they educate for such use. Furthermore, teachers know that healthy students are more likely to succeed in their schooling.

Does the school affect change? By all means, but not alone, rather in concert. How far does the school move to create change? There are some who are so timid they wouldn't move at all. Others would want us to create a brave new world tomorrow. My own prescription is, "Go as fast as you can (you'd be surprised how many are on your side), as slow as you must (you can't be out there leading alone with everybody far behind, you'll be bumped off)."

"Go as fast as you can, as slow as you must–but go!"

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